

GENEVA AS A CENTRE OF CALVINIST HIGHER EDUCATION 1559-1620

Karin Yvonne Maag

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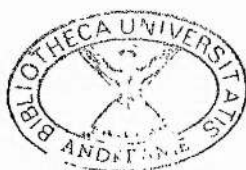
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Abstract

This thesis examines the provision of higher education in a Calvinist setting in 16th century Europe. The change from Catholicism to Protestantism made it imperative to remodel existing centres of higher education, or to create new ones, in order to train the first generations of Protestants for civil and ecclesiastical posts. In particular, ministers were urgently needed for the expanding number of congregations across Europe. By analysing the example of the Genevan Academy, founded in 1559 by Calvin, one can observe the operation of one of these new centres of learning in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Based on magisterial and ministerial records, together with letters discussing students and training, this study, in contrast to institutional history, examines Reformation higher education from the perspective of its participants, namely students, professors, ministers and magistrates. As Geneva acted as a centre of refuge and advice for Protestants across Europe, its role as a pre-eminent centre of Calvinist higher education simply reinforced the city's reputation. Yet the existence of the Academy between 1559 and 1620 was not without tension, particularly between the Genevan ministers and magistrates, each of whom had different expectations regarding the Academy's ultimate purpose. While the ministers saw the Academy as a humanist seminary, the magistrates wanted to expand its scope to include subjects such as law and medicine, bringing the Academy closer to a university model.

Indeed, Geneva's Academy was not the only Calvinist centre of higher learning attracting students in the later Reformation period. Zurich's academy, and the universities of Heidelberg and Leiden, though each differed in structure and approach, provided alternative and sometimes competing forms of higher study. Through an examination of these other centres of learning and of their students, one can assess more effectively what role Geneva's institution played in the European Reformed educational world.



Declarations

I, Karin Yvonne Maag, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 99749 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree

Date 9/12/93

Signature of candidate

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1990, and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in October 1991; the higher degree for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1990 and 1993

Date 9/12/93

Signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date 9 xii 93

Signature of supervisor

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and to my grandfather, Roy Colter Arbuckle, 1904-1991.

My grandfather's legacy of integrity and good humour is one which I shall endeavour to maintain.

Karin Maag
St Andrews,
November 1993

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List of Abbreviations

AEG:	Archives d'Etat de Genève (Geneva)
Arch Tr.	Archives Tronchin
<u>ARG:</u>	Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte
BPU:	Bibliothèque publique et universitaire (Geneva)
<u>BSHPF:</u>	<u>Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français</u>
Mi:	Microfilms
Ms Fr:	Manuscripts Français
RC:	Registres du Conseil de Genève
<u>RCP:</u>	Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève

Please note: all translations from the original French are my own.

Geneva as a Centre of Calvinist Higher Education, 1559-1620:

Introduction

In the 16th century, the city of Geneva sprang into prominence, largely because of the influence of John Calvin. Under his leadership, the supporters of political and religious independence gradually coalesced until by 1555, Calvin had taken effective control of the Genevan church.¹ One of the matters which drew Calvin's attention in the next years was the need for a new educational establishment in Geneva, to replace and enhance Geneva's modest pre-Reformation schools. Apart from schools primarily intended for the local population, Calvin envisaged an institution which would address the needs for higher education, specifically for future ministers. In 1559 the Genevan Academy opened its doors. Offering both basic and higher education, it provided a centre of training in a French-language, Calvinist setting, calculated to appeal particularly to the growing number of young men from France, who intended to enter the Calvinist pastorate.

Such was Calvin's intention, and for the most part, scholars studying the Academy have followed Calvin in emphasising primarily the theological role played by the Academy in training young men for the Reformed ministry. Yet to consider the Genevan Academy from a theological perspective alone, and to see it as little more than a seminary, is to ignore the ongoing tensions between the ministers and magistrates of Geneva over the Academy's fundamental direction. Acting as a seminary for future Calvinist ministers was not the only role assigned to the Genevan Academy. To other members of the city elite, the foundation of the Academy offered the opportunity to establish a prestige institution of higher education, on a par with Europe's long-established universities. Thus, almost from the Academy's first years, the magistrates and ministers of the city embarked on a long-running conflict, at the bottom of which lay their differing conceptions of the Academy's purpose. While the ministers emphasised theology, the magistrates focused on subjects such as civil law and medicine, among other strategies to raise Geneva's profile in the 16th and early 17th century European educational world, and thus to attract more wealthy and noble students to the Academy.

These differing understandings of the purpose of Geneva's new institution explain many of the disputes and the continuing conflicting priorities which mark the first sixty years of the Academy's existence. They also lay bare a further

¹ William Naphy, 'Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation' (St. Andrews PhD thesis, 1992)

fundamental question which lies at the heart of this dissertation: what constituted 'Calvinist' higher education? Was Geneva's Academy intended to be a purely confessional institution, and could it succeed in this context? The Academy's establishment reflected the Genevan ministers' initial missionary goal. Insofar as the training of future clergy was its goal, the Academy succeeded, partly because it was widely recognised as a pre-eminent place of training by church leaders in most parts of Europe where Reformed churches became widely established. The second half of this thesis will demonstrate how deep and enduring were the bonds uniting Geneva to these other churches, in France, the Netherlands, and Germany. But for those of Geneva's rulers who hankered after a more diversified institution, the Reformed educational world also offered other more encouraging paradigms, for not all 'Calvinist' universities followed the narrow goals of a ministerial training college. This becomes clear when one considers other contemporary instances of higher education in Reformed contexts, as in Zurich's academy, Heidelberg's older university, or again in the case of the new university of Leiden. Did these institutions consider themselves, or were they considered from outside as confessional institutions; if so how was that confessional allegiance made visible, and how did these institutions compare and compete with Geneva's academy?

Through a study of the Genevan Academy's prehistory, foundation and development until 1620, followed by an analysis of the Genevan Academy's role in an international context, linked with France, Zurich, Heidelberg and Leiden in the same period, the intention is to examine in detail the provision of higher education in Reformed centres of learning, from the perspective of its organisers and its recipients. The Genevan Academy provides an excellent case study, both because of the length of time during which Geneva was the main centre of European Calvinism, and because of the large collection of archival sources from the period, still held in Genevan libraries and archives. Indeed, the Academy provides the opportunity to examine 16th and early 17th century higher education in the microcosm of a walled city, where the battles over educational affairs were set down in detail in both the records of the Company of Pastors and in those held by the Small Council, Geneva's ruling body of magistrates. While the records of the Company of Pastors are currently being published, the records of the Small Council exist only in manuscript form, apart from extracts used in secondary sources.² The magistrates' near-daily entries on all subjects concerning the government of the city provide an as-yet little explored source of information on the operation of the Genevan educational system and on its conflicts. Use of both the ministers' and the magistrates' records helps to

² See for instance Amédée Roget *Histoire du Peuple de Genève depuis la Réforme jusqu'à l'Escalade* (7 vols., Geneva, 1870-83).

present a more balanced perspective on the matters at issue than would be the case if one relied on the ministers' records alone.

As well as day-to-day records, the Genevan archives also house a large collection of letters, both those received by the Company of Pastors and Small Council, and copies of letters sent out by these two bodies. One way of approaching the subject of higher study is to focus primarily on the consumers of these varied higher educational offerings: the students who came to Geneva and elsewhere, and went on to become leaders in civil and ecclesiastical posts across Europe. The letters concerning the students provide further information on the state of educational matters in Geneva, but they also reveal vital evidence of the links built up and strengthened between Geneva and other areas, due in a large part to the ongoing flow of foreign students in and out of the city and to Genevan contacts with these students' place of origin.

Though Genevan acts as the central focus of this study, the other centres of Reformed higher education also hold sources making comparative work possible. For instance, the State Archives in Zurich house a large, mainly untapped collection of letters from Zurich students who had been sent to various establishments of higher education in Europe, and who wrote back to the Zurich ministers about their experiences. The Zurich students described the various universities, their courses and professors, enabling the Zurich authorities to evaluate the relative merits of each centre of learning. The Zurich sources are invaluable, for they have preserved first-hand accounts from students concerning the education they were receiving. Contemporary sources from Heidelberg are unfortunately limited, given the displacement of the Palatine library to Rome after the defeat of Heidelberg in 1622. Yet university records do survive, and help to go some way to provide a picture of the many changes which Heidelberg university went through during the period 1559 to 1620. Leiden university, founded in 1575, also holds university records from the period, as well as a collection of letters to and from its early professors.

A further primary source supplying valuable information is the collection of matriculation lists from Geneva, Zurich, Heidelberg, and Leiden. These lists have to be used with care because in many instances they are fragmentary and sometimes misleading, since for instance non-students occasionally matriculated, especially in universities, either because they wished to escape certain taxes raised from the general community (and from which students were exempt), or because they came in the entourage of a nobleman, and signed the matriculation register alongside him. Yet in spite of their disadvantages, the matriculation lists provide a highly useful overall view of the student body and of the diversity of its places of origin.

All these primary sources help to constitute a picture of the state of Reformed higher education in the 16th and early 17th centuries, not only to show which facilities were set up, but also how these educational facilities were put to use. Building on these foundations, this thesis directs its attention more towards the human element in higher education in the period, and less towards the purely institutional aspect of the various academies and universities under scrutiny.

Indeed, by and large, the institutional history of Reformation centres of higher education has been already written. However, these institutional histories, chiefly written at the turn of the 20th century or slightly before, tend to concentrate on one university or academy alone, without attempting any comparative work. Charles Borgeaud's work on the Academy of Geneva, for instance, written in 1900, is rightly considered to be the most complete history of the Academy written to date.³ However, he limited the scope of his work to the Genevan Academy alone, and made only brief mention of educational developments elsewhere. Though such institutional histories are highly useful because of the wealth of detail they present, the authors' disinclination to set their chosen institution in the wider European context both opens the way and dictates the need for a comparative examination of the provision of Reformed higher education in the period. As well, because of the need to put forth a coherent and complete presentation of developments in terms of courses, staff and administration, many of the academy and university histories provide little information on the students themselves and on their presence in these centres of learning. For instance, Johann Friedrich Hautz's two volume history of the university of Heidelberg makes little mention of students, in favour of an analysis of its institutional development.⁴

Institutional developments have not, of course, been ignored. Efforts have been made to develop a statistical picture of student attendance in the academies and universities at the time, though this approach carries its own set of problems. Because matriculation lists are rarely complete and accurate, a statistical analysis of the information these records provide always remains conjectural. Once again, statistical studies provide a useful starting point for an examination of students in the Reformation, but such an approach needs to be complemented by the use of archival sources, so as to put human faces on the data.

Overall, the aim is to show how educational institutions were created or remodelled in order to supply the training and educational level required for

³ Charles Borgeaud, Histoire de l'université de Genève: L'Académie de Calvin 1559-1798 (Geneva, 1900).

⁴ Johann Friedrich Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg (2 vols.) (Mannheim, 1864).

students to function in later life as civil or ecclesiastical leaders in Reformation Europe. In this context, academies, and the Genevan Academy in particular are worth closer attention because of the education they provided outwith a university environment. The Genevan Academy was set up to respond to immediate training needs. As an academy, it could not offer degrees, and its financial resources were limited. Adding to these difficulties was the lack of any indigenous Genevan tradition of higher education to look back on, upon which ministers and city fathers could draw when designing what was in many respects a new sort of institution.

A comparative analysis of the higher education provided in Zurich, Heidelberg, and Leiden sets Geneva's approach in context. The examination of the links between Geneva and these other centres of learning, as well as Geneva's educational ties with France, help to assess what part the Academy played in Geneva's sudden and unexpected emergence as a European intellectual and political centre of the first rank. A study of other academies and universities helps in evaluating whether the reasons behind the attractiveness of the Genevan Academy to students from across Europe lay in the on-going reputation of Calvin and of his successor, Theodore Beza, or in the training provided by the Academy itself, or in its geographical location, or in a combination of these factors. Primarily, the 16th century offered students an increasing range of places to study, from old universities to new educational institutions such as academies. The reasons behind students' choice of centres of learning may help to establish more clearly what status the Genevan Academy achieved as a centre of Calvinist higher education between 1559 and 1620.

Chapter I Genevan education prior to the foundation of the Academy

A Before the Reformation

Prior to the Reformation, education in Geneva was a haphazard business, and higher education was largely unavailable. Because pre-Reformation Geneva was the seat of a bishopric, the Church was supposed to provide a certain amount of training for Catholic clerics from the area. The third and fourth Lateran Councils, in 1179 and 1215 decreed that each bishop had to create a seminary in his diocese for future clerics.¹ Louis Binz, in his chapter on the history of the Genevan school, indicated that the city of Geneva did have an episcopal school, where Latin and theological and liturgical training of a mediocre standard were provided.² Yet Binz in his later work on the diocese of Geneva between 1378 and 1450 made no mention of this episcopal school, and argued that during the Middle Ages the educational requirements for ordinary clerics were so minimal that the necessary intellectual training was acquired in local Latin schools, and the practical training in apprenticeships under practising priests.³

The role of Latin schools and even elementary schools in providing adequate intellectual training for those entering the Church is difficult to assess, given that little information has survived about these often-ephemeral establishments. Among nineteenth century authorities on Geneva, the precise status of its educational provision was a debated question. Louis-J. Thévenaz noted the existence of private schools in Geneva, meant for future clerics and run by the Church.⁴ Binz described both private elementary schools and some under greater civil control, present, as he put it, in nearly every town and city in the Genevan diocese.⁵ Yet there is little evidence to suggest that these schools provided anything more than basic grounding in reading, writing, and Latin. Even so, borne perhaps by a need to assert Geneva's place as an active educational centre prior to the Reformation on confessional grounds, the Abbé Fleury argued that even before the foundation of the Collège de Versonnex, its first municipal school, Geneva was already well-supplied with rectors

¹ Borgeaud, Histoire de l'université de Genève, p. 6.

² Louis Binz, 'Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire du Collège' in Le Collège de Genève 1559-1959: Mélanges historiques et littéraires (Geneva, 1959), p. 13.

³ Louis Binz, Vie religieuse et réforme ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Genève 1378-1450 (Geneva, 1973), pp. 352-3.

⁴ Louis-J. Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège de sa fondation à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, précédée d'une introduction sur l'instruction publique à Genève au Moyen-Age' in Thévenaz, Vuillétty et al, Histoire du Collège de Genève (Geneva, 1896), p. 1.

⁵ Binz, 'Coup d'oeil', p. 13, and Binz, Vie religieuse, p. 60.

and professors in arts, reading, writing, grammar, and languages.⁶ Others noted that the Chapter of Saint Pierre, Geneva's cathedral, included a considerable number of clerics with academic titles, such as Doctors, Licentiates, and Masters, as well as Readers in law and theology, and that in 1392, a certain Jean de la Rivoire was rector of Geneva's grammar schools. From this information, Thévenaz deduced that there were schools in Geneva which provided a complete course of study.⁷ Nonetheless, Binz pointed out that very few university-trained clerics ever resided in their parishes, lessening the impact that learned clerics could have had on Genevan religious life.⁸ Indeed, the number of more highly-educated clergy in Geneva may reflect as much Geneva's place as the bishop's seat and centre of the diocese as any particular impetus for learning on the part of the Genevan clergy.

The level of education available in Geneva during the Middle Ages for Catholic clergy, let alone lay people, thus appears to have been relatively low. Yet in 1365, and again between 1418 and 1422, Geneva had the opportunity to become a university city.⁹ In 1365, the project of a Genevan university was proposed by the Count of Savoy, Amédée VI. He managed to obtain a charter from the Emperor, Charles IV, for a university in Geneva, complete with four faculties and all the usual dispensations and privileges, in exchange for Amédée's participation in the crusade against the Turks. In return, Amédée VI hoped that the prospective university would increase his reputation as a patron of learning and also help him in his battle against the bishop of Geneva for control and possession of the city. If enough clerics were trained in the Genevan university, and then became canons of the Chapter of Saint Pierre, Amédée VI could hope that their gratitude towards him would gain them to his side and enable him to upstage the bishop. However, while the Count was at the crusades, the bishop worked to get the charter revoked, by turning to the Pope. In the end, the bishop triumphed and Charles IV went back on his earlier decision.

Between 1418 and 1422, the project of a Genevan university was revived by Jean de Rochetaillée, the commendatory bishop of Geneva. He managed to secure a charter for a university from the Pope, Martin V, though the university was to have only one faculty, the faculty of arts. However, de Rochetaillée was transferred from

⁶ Abbé Fleury, 'L'Instruction publique avant 1535', in *Etudes historiques sur l'ancienne Genève*, (Lucerne, 1868), p. 9.

⁷ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 2.

⁸ Binz, *Vie religieuse*, p. 353.

⁹ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 2. Thévenaz saw the university projects as a sign that Geneva's contemporary academic standards and potential professors were of a sufficiently high calibre to make university-level teaching feasible.

Geneva before he could put the charter into effect, and his next two successors died before they could make the idea progress any further. At that point the project appears to have been abandoned.¹⁰

The first attempt to create a university in Geneva both stemmed from and foundered because of high-level politics and struggles for influence involving Geneva's bishop and the ruler of Savoy. The intellectual and educational level in Geneva was peripheral to the political debate which ultimately led to Charles IV revoking his charter. The 15th century attempt was once again led by powerful figures whose horizons extended beyond Geneva. The second failure to create a Genevan university seems to have been due more to the transfer or untimely deaths of the successive bishops than to anything else. In the end, the university projects were shelved, and no such ambitious plans for higher education in Geneva resurfaced until several centuries later.

The emphasis on local circumstances and local opposition to the university projects leads to a consideration of the role of lay leadership in Genevan education prior to the Reformation. Indeed, some have suggested that the Genevan magistrates did nothing to promote the university scheme because it was directed more towards a clerical elite than to the larger lay population, and did not match the lay-centred magisterial outlook on education.¹¹ Because no information has survived concerning officially organised schools until 1428, it is difficult to assess the earlier role of Geneva's magistrates in education. For instance, it is not known what oversight or control, if any, the Genevan lay authorities exercised over the small private schools which taught reading and writing. These schools were ephemeral by nature, as they depended on the availability of the teachers, and had no official independence apart from them.

In 1428, however, steps were taken to establish an officially-recognised school. On 28 February 1428, the General Council of Geneva ordered a public school to be created. According to Borgeaud, the administration of the school was to be entirely separate from the Church.¹² As was the case for the university projects, deciding to create such a school was one thing, putting the decision into action was another.

One of the drawbacks of the private schools had been the lack of suitable purpose-built facilities for pupils and teachers alike. A wealthy Genevan merchant, François de Versonnex, made the General Council's decision a reality by having a building constructed in 1429 for the use of pupils and teachers of grammar, logic,

¹⁰ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, pp. 2-12.

¹¹ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 13.

¹² Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 13.

and the other liberal arts.¹³ The resulting institution was known as the Collège de Versonnex. Because few primary sources describing the Collège de Versonnex survive, historians have been forced to speculate as to its characteristics. Firstly, there is little agreement about the level of studies in the Collège de Versonnex. Some have argued that the institution provided both secondary and higher-level education, bringing together a college or gymnasium in the German sense, and an academy. Such arguments are based on the indication that liberal arts were to be taught in the Collège de Versonnex, since liberal arts were usually taught in the arts faculties of universities.¹⁴ Others, however, disagreed, pointing out that one of Versonnex's stipulations was that the building could never be used for purposes other than grammar schools, and concluded that the Collège de Versonnex was a primary and secondary school only.¹⁵ Based on information from the schoolbooks in use in the Collège de Versonnex Henri Delarue added that the education offered did not progress very far beyond Latin grammar. He noted that the study of Latin began only in the upper half of the school, using Donatus, Cato, Despautère's grammar, various unnamed classical authors and the works of a few equally unspecified late Medieval Latin authors as schoolbooks.¹⁶

Secondly, the respective roles of the magistrates and of the clergy in the organisation and day-to-day running of the Collège de Versonnex are disputed. Borgeaud's remark that the General Council intended the school to be free of the Church's oversight has been noted. Yet in practice, the Church's presence in the school seems to have been felt, since the pupils had to recite daily an Ave Maria and a paternoster in front of the altar for the salvation of de Versonnex's soul.¹⁷ Furthermore, Binz indicated that while the city's syndics and councillors oversaw the school's organisation, the Church retained control over teaching in the Collège de Versonnex. As well, Binz noted that naming the rector of the school was the prerogative of the chantry priest of Saint Pierre's Chapter.¹⁸ However, the right to name the rector was taken over by the syndics of the city in the 15th century, thus lessening the Church's influence on the direction of the Collège.¹⁹ In addition, the

¹³ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', pp. 4-5.

¹⁴ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 5; Jules Vuy, 'Notes historiques sur le Collège de Versonnex et documents inédits relatifs à l'instruction publique, à Genève, avant 1535' in Mémoires (Institut Genevois) 12 (1867), 11.

¹⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 15.

¹⁶ Henri Delarue, 'Les premiers manuels en usage au Collège de Genève' in Le Collège de Genève, pp. 58-9.

¹⁷ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 6.

¹⁸ Binz, Vie religieuse, p. 79.

¹⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 7.

city councillors were the ones who chose the regents, thus exercising a degree of influence on the personnel and the teaching of the Collège de Versonnex.²⁰

At first, the Collège de Versonnex was to be free of charge to all pupils. The magistrates paid the regents a certain amount per child as salary.²¹ By 1502, however, pupils were paying the regents a small amount as well, which varied between an eighth and a quarter florin per child, presumably per year.²² Added to that was the money contributed by private teachers, who were obliged to bring their pupils regularly to the grande école, as the Collège de Versonnex was also known.²³ Vuy and Thévenaz both noted that no one could open a private school without first obtaining permission from the rector of the Collège.²⁴ Some control was thus kept on the number of schools in the city. Overall, the Collège de Versonnex represented a first attempt by the magistrates to organise and control education. Acquiring the right not only to pay the regents' salaries, but also to hire these same regents and to appoint the rector gave the magistrates a strong voice in educational matters and, by the time of the Reformation, provided them with a tradition of involvement in education to call upon when their role in that field was later challenged.

B The Collège de Rive

On 21 May 1536, after four years' efforts on the part of the Reformers Guillaume Farel, Pierre Viret, Antoine Froment and others, the General Council of Geneva solemnly agreed, 'to live under this holy evangelical law and Word of God, as it is declared to us, wanting to leave behind all masses and other papal ceremonies and abuses, images and idols, and to live in unity and obedience to the laws'.²⁵ The previous few years had been very unsettled, not only because of the ongoing confessional debate, but also because of that debate's repercussions on Geneva's political alliances.²⁶ The state of affairs in Geneva was such that education suffered as well, since the rector left the Collège de Versonnex in 1534-5, and the pupils began

²⁰ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 6.

²¹ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 6. The regents received between half a florin and a florin per pupil per year.

²² Delarue, 'Les premiers manuels', p. 58.

²³ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', pp. 8, 11.

²⁴ Vuy, 'Notes historiques', p. 21; Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 8.

²⁵ Amédée Roget, Histoire du Peuple de Genève depuis la Réforme jusqu'à l'Escalade (7 vols., Geneva, 1870-1883), I p. 2.

²⁶ Amédée Roget, Les Suisses et Genève ou l'émancipation de la communauté genevoise au seizième siècle (2 vols., Geneva, 1864), II, pp. 44-111.

to fall away.²⁷ Consequently the renovation of the city's educational institution was an urgent priority. The same meeting of the Genevan General Council, which accepted the Reformation, had as second item of business the reorganisation of education in the city. The General Council decided that 'One should find a learned man for this purpose [to teach] and that one should pay him a large enough salary so that he can teach and feed the poor [pupils], without asking them for fees, and that all must send their children to school and have them learn...'²⁸

By 13 June 1536, the Small Council had found a rector, Antoine Saulnier from the Dauphiné, and decided to pay him 466 florins per year. Saulnier was to pay part of the salary to each of his two assistants.²⁹ As well, each pupil who could afford to do so was to pay a quarter florin per term. As this modest school fee proved difficult to collect, in essence all pupils attended the school for free.³⁰ The school was now known as the Collège de Rive, taking its name from the area of Geneva in which it lay. From 1544 onwards, the Collège de Rive took over the monastery of the Franciscan friars. While the building, left vacant by the departing monks, was undoubtedly large enough for the school, it was in a poor state of repair, so much so that Louis Enoch, rector from 1550-56, complained that several of his pupils had contracted fatal illnesses because of the monastery's ramshackle and insalubrious state.³¹

An anonymous printed pamphlet of 1538, its authorship ascribed to Saulnier, detailed the courses and structure of the Collège de Rive.³² Admittedly, a comparison with the Collège de Versonnex is difficult, since few sources remain describing the earlier Collège's teaching, but it does seem that while the Collège de Rive addressed itself to the same age group, it also made certain changes to the courses in the light of humanist and Reformation learning. To the French and Latin which the Collège de Versonnex had taught, the regents of the Collège de Rive added Greek and Hebrew, which were taught from the New and Old Testaments. Religious training as a whole began to play a greater role, as the regents led prayers before and after class, and as the school day ended in the grande salle where the children in turn would recite the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. In addition, the rector instructed the entire school daily in the Christian faith. To its boarders, the Collège de Rive offered added subjects such as basic arithmetic,

²⁷ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 12.

²⁸ Roget, Peuple de Genève, I, p. 2.

²⁹ Roget, Peuple de Genève, I, p. 3.

³⁰ E.-A. Bétant, Notice sur le Collège de Rive (Geneva, 1866), p. 7.

³¹ Bétant, Notice, p. 22.

³² Bétant, Notice, p. 8.

and a more detailed study of Scripture. Otherwise the school provided classes ranging from reading and writing French and Latin for the beginners, to Latin grammar and written exercises for the more advanced. The preferred Latin authors were Terence, Virgil, and Cicero.³³ Borgeaud stated that the level of teaching in the Collège de Rive remained that of a grammar school.³⁴ Certainly there is no sign of higher training available within the school itself. Outside the Collège de Rive, however, Saulnier noted that public lectures on the Old and New Testaments were held every day.³⁵ The Hebrew lecture was divided between a grammatical study of each passage, led by an unidentified Hebrew reader, and a study of the spiritual meaning of each passage, led by Guillaume Farel. Calvin provided the Greek lectures on the New Testament.

The aim of Saulnier's pamphlet appears to have been to attract potential pupils to Geneva. The author strongly rejected the charge that Reformed Geneva had cast secular learning aside. In setting out the Reformed attitude towards the liberal arts at this early date, Saulnier provided a useful yardstick against which to measure later attitudes and actions in the same field. He stated that the Reformers considered liberal arts to be 'among the excellent graces of God'. He defined clearly the status of these liberal arts. 'Even though we give priority to the Word of the Lord, this is not to say that we reject the knowledge of good letters, which certainly can follow and appropriately can take second place. And indeed, when these two things are united in this fashion, there is great uniformity and agreement that the Word of God should be the basis on all doctrine and that the liberal arts act as ways and means (not to be disdained) serving for the true and complete knowledge of that Word'.³⁶ According to Saulnier, study in the arts was held to be a highly useful occupation, but remained a tool of theology.

The Collège de Rive was run by the rector and two, later three regents. Though the Small Council, the 22 councillors and 4 syndics who directed the city, chose the rector, he in turn chose his assistants and decided what was to be taught. Hence, the magistrates had little direct influence over the content of the teaching.³⁷ Yet because the magistrates did pay the rector's salary, they could still exercise some control over the role of the Collège de Rive and of its staff. Beginning in 1538, the Genevan magistrates began to put pressure on Saulnier and his assistants. Calvin and Farel had already been sent into exile on 23 April 1538 for refusing to obey the

³³ L'Ordre et la manière d'enseigner en la ville de Genève au college in Bétant, Notice, pp. 28-34.

³⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 16.

³⁵ Bétant, Notice, pp. 34-5.

³⁶ Bétant, Notice, pp. 37-8.

³⁷ Bétant, Notice, p. 6.

magistrates' orders to serve the Lord's Supper according to the Bernese rites. Saulnier's two regents, Eynard and Gaspard, were called before the Small Council on 10 September 1538 and were made to leave the city three days later. Opinions differ as to the reason for the Small Council's actions. Bétant suggested that the magistrates objected to the regents' comments on the sermons of the ministers who had remained in Geneva, to the regents' disobedience of the magistrates, and to the regents' refusal to help distribute the elements of the Lord's Supper.³⁸ For his part, Roget declared that the reason for the magistrates' decision to exile the regents was that the latter had declared upon being questioned that they had not partaken in the Lord's Supper anywhere the preceding Easter or Pentecost. The Council decided that such abstentions were contrary to the magisterial ordinances, and thus the two regents were banished.³⁹

While it is unclear in this instance what exactly led the magistrates to remove the two regents, their decision meant Saulnier had to hire three new regents including Marturin Cordier, the renowned Latin teacher who had taught Calvin in Paris. Cordier, who had adopted the Reformation, came from the Collège of Bordeaux to help teach in Geneva. While Cordier's presence and teaching were undoubtedly beneficial to the school, he was unable to provide much continuity, since by January 1539 he, Saulnier, and the other two regents were all exiled from Geneva by the magistrates.

Here again, accounts differ. Bétant and Thévenaz argued that the magistrates had made Saulnier's life so difficult that he handed in his resignation in December 1538 and that the crux of the matter was the Council's attempt to force Saulnier and his regents to help distribute the Lord's Supper which the college staff refused to do. Instead, Saulnier, in an appearance before the Council of Two Hundred on 27 December 1538 argued that the college staff had been hired to teach the children, not to help in worship, and that they had fulfilled their teaching duties faithfully.⁴⁰ Clearly, the magistrates believed that the rector and regents, salaried by the city, could be asked to help in the performance of a church sacrament. Indeed, because of the lack of ministers, the Small Council had even made the same request to some of the magistrates.⁴¹ Furthermore, Roget suggested that there was nothing untoward about the magistrates' request for assistance from the college staff, since according to him they had been helping with the distribution of the Lord's Supper when Calvin was in Geneva. Roget indicated that the reason for the rector and regents' refusal to

³⁸ Bétant, Notice, p. 9.

³⁹ Roget, Les Suisses et Genève, II, p. 124.

⁴⁰ Bétant, Notice, pp. 10-11; Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', pp. 15-16.

⁴¹ Roget, Peuple de Genève, I, p. 114.

co-operate was their unwillingness to participate in the Bernese rite, which 'vexed their consciences'.⁴²

There is no doubt that church rites and liturgy could cause controversy. The Bernese rite, the focus of these debates, was the model adopted by the magisterial Reformation in Berne. Calvin and his supporters, including Saulnier and his assistants, wanted a greater control over the affairs of the Church, particularly in terms of rite and discipline, than was offered to clergy under the Reformation as it was adopted in the Swiss cities.⁴³ The Collège de Rive's personnel did not stand aloof from the debates, so much so that their refusal to compromise with the rite advocated by the magistrates led to their dismissal. This sometimes costly involvement in the political and religious life of Geneva was not unique. Given that education was the domain of both Church and state, regents, professors and students were never very far from such controversies from the time of the Reformation onwards.

The next figure of note in the history of the Collège de Rive was Sebastian Castellio, who was its rector from 1541 to 1544. He published a series of Latin-French dialogues similar to Cordier's Colloques in its aim to teach basic Latin to pupils. However, Calvin and Castellio did not see eye to eye on doctrinal matters, so that Calvin even prevented him from becoming a minister in 1544, though Castellio carried on teaching until his departure for Basle on 11 July 1544.⁴⁴

Assorted rectors and regents then taught with varied success in the Collège de Rive until Louis Enoch became rector in 1550. He remained in that post until 1557, when he was called as minister to one of Geneva's city parishes.⁴⁵ The Collège de Rive appears to have been successful under Enoch's leadership, for on 31 October 1555, the registers of the Small Council noted that though Enoch had already paid for an assistant out of his own wages, there were so many children in the school that more help was needed. The Council then considered the possible candidature of Jean, the son of Jean du Perril, 'who has studied quite well until now, and is a good and peace-loving son, who could serve the schools now and the church later'. The Small Council decided to employ him for 60 florins a year.⁴⁶

⁴² Roget, Peuple de Genève, I, p. 140.

⁴³ Roget, Peuple de Genève, I, pp. 63-109.

⁴⁴ Bétant, Notice, pp. 12-15.

⁴⁵ Bétant, Notice, pp. 18-19.

⁴⁶ RC 50, fol. 24, 31 October 1555. 'lequel jusques icy a assez bien estudié et est bon filz et paisible et lequel pourroit servir aux escolles et à l'advenir en l'église'. According to Bétant, Notice, p. 19, du Perril was the first Genevan regent in the public school system.

Towards the end of the 1550s, both the Small Council and the Company of Pastors seem to have increased their involvement in the Collège de Rive. The Council had decided to pay du Perril's salary directly, instead of providing Enoch with a lump sum to distribute. Indeed, regents' complaints about their wages began to appear with regularity in the minutes of the Small Council.⁴⁷ The ministers' growing involvement included Calvin's request to the Small Council to exercise greater control over the small private schools known as the petites escolles. He asked the Council to have the private masters bring their students once a week to the Collège de Rive, and to make sure that the only pupils allowed to attend the private schools were those who could not yet go on to learn Latin. In response, the Small Council decided to limit the number of private schools to six, and to examine the masters of each school.⁴⁸ Thus, the magistrates and ministers intended to control more carefully the state of education in the city.

Some see the Collège de Rive merely as a transitional institution bridging the gap between Genevan education under Catholicism and Calvin's educational projects brought to fruition in the creation of the Genevan Academy in 1559.⁴⁹ This seems unfair, and to do less than justice to the achievements of the Collège de Rive. Clearly, the education provided by the Collège de Rive was neither as up-to-date nor as complete as possible. There were no standard examinations to regulate progress from one level to another, and no systematic division of pupils into groups of similar ability. As well, apart from the public exegetical lectures given by Calvin and Farel, there was no further academic training available in Geneva after one had progressed through the Collège de Rive. Those who wanted to acquire higher education had to go elsewhere. Yet the Collège de Rive must not be dismissed completely as an imperfect early version of the Genevan Academy, for in spite of the difficulties in finding capable personnel, the Collège de Rive saw the application of several Reformed educational principles such as the emphasis on the ancient languages of Scripture and on comprehensive religious training included in the curriculum. Furthermore, Antoine Saulnier's pamphlet on the Collège de Rive shows how, even in the early years of the Reformation in Geneva, before the Academy's creation, the civic and ecclesiastical leaders were conscious of the need to define the relative roles of theological and liberal arts education.

⁴⁷ RC 50, fol. 33, 11 November 1555: Louis Enoch asked for all his staff to be paid the same amount. RC 53, fol. 235, 1 February 1557: the three regents, Pierre Duc, Thomas, and Jean du Perril all asked for salary increases.

⁴⁸ RC 51, fol. 52-3, 17 March 1556; fol. 55-6, 19 March 1556.

⁴⁹ Henri Fazy, Le Livre du recteur: Etude historique sur l'Académie de Genève (Lausanne, 1862), p. 2, and Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 16.

Despite the qualities of the Collège de Rive, the lack of formal training beyond the level of a Latin grammar school in Geneva was a growing problem in the years following Geneva's Reformation, particularly in terms of the training of future ministers. This was especially acute in view of the high opinion of the ministerial office taken by the Reformers, and expressed by Calvin in his Ecclesiastical Ordinances.

The Genevan Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 state that candidates for the ministry were to be examined in two areas, namely on their doctrine and on their morals.⁵⁰ In the case of their doctrine, it was expected that the candidates would have 'a good and sound knowledge of Scripture', and that they would be able to communicate their knowledge of Scripture to the people in an edifying way. Furthermore, candidates were to agree to the doctrine held in Geneva. Therefore, the required characteristics for ministers in terms of doctrine included knowledge of Scripture, ability to communicate it clearly to the people, and an understanding of and commitment to the Reformed doctrine of Geneva.

As for their behaviour, candidates were to have led irreproachable lives and to have good morals. Prior to the opening of the Academy, and indeed later on as well, any training in morals and behaviour would have been informal and by example. In other words, practising ministers such as Calvin, Beza, and other members of the Company of Pastors could foster good behaviour in candidates through their example and their oversight. In contrast, doctrine had to be learned. Candidates could study Scripture and the ways of transmitting its teachings by attending some or all of the twenty weekly services taking place in the Genevan city parishes.⁵¹ Candidates could also attend Calvin's and Farel's public exegeses on the Old and New Testaments. According to Saulnier, these took place daily in Saint Pierre, as Farel and an unnamed Hebrew scholar taught in the mornings, explaining both the grammar and doctrine of passages from the Old Testament, while Calvin followed the same approach in the afternoons for the Greek New Testament.⁵² Finally, the candidates may have been able to gain a more in-depth knowledge of Reformed doctrine from the weekly congrégations, or gatherings of ministers and interested lay-people, at which theological theses were presented and defended by each of the Genevan ministers in turn. These congrégations were one of the major innovations of the Reformation, providing as they did an opportunity for ministers already holding posts to gain further training in Scriptural exegesis and public speaking.

⁵⁰ 'Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de 1541' in Henri Heyer, 1555-1909: L'Eglise de Genève: Esquisse historique de son organisation (Geneva, 1909), p. 262.

⁵¹ 'Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de 1541' in Heyer, L'Eglise de Genève, pp. 265-6.

⁵² Bétant, Notice, pp. 34-5; T. H. L. Parker, Calvin's Preaching (Edinburgh, 1992), pp. 38-9; 58-63.

The registers of the Company of Pastors have preserved a list of the early theses debated by the ministers in the congrégation. The ministers presented theses on a wide range of topics, from justification to the sacraments. Each thesis bears the name of the proponent, the question to be debated, three or four summarised arguments, and the conclusion.⁵³ The Latin introduction to the propositions, dated 10 April 1548, indicates that these theses had been presented since January 1545, when it was decided that one of the ministers in turn should present conclusions drawn from Scripture. The other ministers could then counter with other arguments, 'modestly, and without altercation and noisy sophistic dispute [...] so that each may be practised in pious doctrine, so that he may become more steadfast and more knowledgeable'.⁵⁴ The Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 indicated that the congrégation was primarily meant for Geneva's own ministers, stating, 'It would be expedient if all ministers agreed on a day of the week when they could discuss the Scriptures, so as to preserve the purity and concord of doctrine among themselves'.⁵⁵ The congrégations were not limited to the ministers of Geneva alone, since it was during the congrégation of 16 October 1551 that Jérôme Bolsec, a medical doctor, publicly disagreed with the Genevan ministers' views on predestination.⁵⁶ Thus, one can assume that the candidates for ministry were also in attendance at the congrégations.

By 1557, as well as the congrégations, the ministers organised monthly disputations. The registers of the Company of Pastors recorded 'On Friday, the first day of the year, a disputation was begun in the ministers' presence by some worthy people of this church, who wish to practice the use of Scripture. It was agreed that the proponent would take his conclusions from one of the Apostles' letters, and the Epistle to the Hebrews was chosen to start with. The first proponent chosen by lot was Philibert Grené, and M. Calvin provided the answer to each disputed point, to the edification of all. These disputations, depending on the grace of the Lord, will continue and will take place on the first Friday of each month. Of course, no one can attend apart from the ministers and those who wish to debate in turn'.⁵⁷ Once again, it is likely that the candidates for the ministry were the ones who used this opportunity to further their knowledge of Scripture and to increase their ability at communicating it effectively.

⁵³ RCP I, pp. 167-82.

⁵⁴ RCP I, p. 167.

⁵⁵ 'Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de 1541' in Heyer, L'Eglise de Genève, p. 263.

⁵⁶ RCP I, pp. 80-1.

⁵⁷ RCP II, p. 70.

Candidates for the ministry in Geneva could extend and deepen their understanding of Scripture, its languages, and of the doctrine drawn from it by the Genevan church from sermons, exegetical lectures, the congrégations, and latterly from the monthly theological disputations. Yet all these elements were not organised into any system or pattern, making it difficult for the candidates to acquire relevant knowledge in any methodical fashion, and for the ministers to transmit their learning in any formal context.

The unsuccessful university projects, the Collège de Versonnex, the Collège de Rive and the informal arrangements for ministerial training in Geneva prior to 1559 were all attempts to provide an educational system for Genevans and for those coming from outside the city. There are two issues here. One is the provision of education at a grammar-school level. This training was provided in centralised, largely lay-controlled schools from 1428 onwards, namely in the Collège de Versonnex and in its successor, the Collège de Rive. These schools suffered from the lack of continuity among teaching staff, the lack of formal examinations to measure pupils' progress, and from the lack of definition as to the respective roles of the Church and the magistrates in the running of the schools. Finally, the Collège de Rive suffered from unsatisfactory buildings housing the school. Consequently, new buildings, new staff, and new structures of organisation were needed at the grammar-school level.

The second issue, the provision of higher education, suffered even greater problems, largely because there had never been an institution of higher education in Geneva. As the Genevan authorities had no past models to build on, any attempts to provide training at a higher level were either unsuccessful or very informal. Once again, a new structure had to be created to respond to the interest in and need for higher study, complete with appropriate staff.

Calvin, his colleagues in the Genevan ministry, and the magistrates found a solution to both issues in the creation of a single establishment, known as the Escole et Académie de Genève.

Chapter II: The Foundation of the Genevan Academy

Calvin had been planning changes to the educational system in Geneva since 1541, when the Ecclesiastical Ordinances set out the need for a college to train young people for the ministry and the magistracy.¹ It seems that Calvin had something other than the contemporary Collège de Rive in mind, for the ordinances advocated the creation of a new institution, rather than changes to an already-existing one. Yet moving from the project to its realisation took nearly 20 years. In part, the impetus for visible change came only in the 1550s from the deteriorating state of the buildings of the Collège de Rive. As well, prior to 1555 and the victory of Calvin's supporters in the magistracy over his opponents, it was difficult for Calvin to secure the necessary financial and administrative co-operation from the magistrates to raise new school buildings. Thus, Calvin's educational projects had to wait until the final years of the 1550s, when the political and economic circumstances were ripe for the establishment of the Genevan Academy.

The Academy's subsequent reputation as one of the beacons of Calvinist higher education in Europe has obscured some of the essential circumstances of its foundation. Whereas for Calvin the principal motive may have been to establish a model institution for the training of a capable ministeriat, the motivating force for many native Genevans was to improve local educational provisions at all levels, a bias reflected in the use of the resources available. The ministers' different imperatives were reflected in their primary areas of influence, the statutes and curriculum, both of which placed an unusual stress on religious training. The tensions evident in these conflicting goals continued throughout the first decades of the Academy's existence, and help explain much of what follows.

At this juncture, it may be helpful to define some terminology. The Genevan Academy consisted of two distinct yet inter-connected parts: the lower level, similar to a grammar-school, and known as the schola privata, and the upper level, the schola publica, which present-day scholars refer to as the Academy. The registers of the Small Council refer to the entire institution as the escole, the collège, or, more rarely, the académie. In order to minimise confusion and to be as faithful as possible to the original intentions of the Academy's creators, the Latin terms, schola publica and schola privata will be used for each component part, and the terms 'Academy of Geneva' shall refer to the whole.

¹ 'Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de 1541' in Heyer, L'Eglise de Genève, p. 266.

In January 1558, the first mention of projects to construct new buildings for a new school appeared in the registers of the Genevan Small Council. Borgeaud noted that the project was launched only in 1558 because Calvin was waiting until the alliance treaty between Geneva and Berne had been renewed in 1557, providing Geneva with greater external security.² On 17 January 1558, the members of the Small Council decided to visit possible sites for the new educational establishment so as to begin planning for the construction materials needed, and ordered architects' plans to be drawn up.³ By 25 March of the same year, the appropriate site had been selected, since the syndics were sent by the Small Council to visit the site with the carpenters and stonemasons, Calvin and Philibert Sarasin, one of the city doctors, so as to gain a sense of the future buildings.⁴ Three days later, the commission overseeing the building project made its report. The commission's composition reveals something of the importance of the project, since its members included the four syndics of Geneva, four councillors, two secretaries, two ministers, namely Calvin and Louis Enoch, who was the former principal of the Collège de Rive, one doctor, the sautier, and a representative of the builders. This high-powered commission reported that the preferred site was in the Bolomier gardens, a piece of land on a hilltop between the quarters of Rive and St. Antoine. The commission emphasised the importance of the fine view and fresh breezes, the latter feature regarded as particularly important for the students' health, not surprisingly, perhaps, in a city vulnerable to the plague. The commission then laid out the structure of the school buildings and of the attached housing for the regents.⁵ The commission's report was approved, and construction began on the buildings in April of that same year.⁶

Though the official inauguration of the Academy only took place on 5 June 1559, the classes of the schola privata began the year before. On 4 November 1558, the 'maistres du collège', that is, the regents, were paid half their yearly salary of 240 florins, a somewhat lower salary than that of the city's ministers, who were earning 300 florins a year by December 1558.⁷

² Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 34.

³ RC 54, 17 January 1558.

⁴ RC 54, 25 March 1558.

⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 34-5.

⁶ Roget, Peuple de Genève, V, p. 227.

⁷ Albert E. Roussy, Le Collège de Genève de 1558 à 1562 (Geneva, 1953), p. 12; Roget, Peuple de Genève, V, p. 175. Calvin, however, received an enhanced salary of 500 florins annually.

Because of delays in the provision of construction materials at various times, the buildings of the Academy were only completed in 1562.⁸ One half of the building housed five or six schoolrooms, as well as a large assembly hall on the upper floor. The other half was intended as living quarters for the regents and principal of the schola privata and for the professors of the schola publica.⁹ Given that the statutes of the Academy call for the creation of seven classes in the schola privata and for three public professors, in Hebrew, Greek, and arts, it is clear that the number of available schoolrooms was smaller than the number of classes to be housed. Indeed, it seems that until 1562, the professors lectured in the classroom intended for the most advanced class of the schola privata, which had very few pupils in those first years, until younger pupils had progressed through the system. By 1562, however, overcrowding had become a problem, and the Small Council noted on 4 June 1562 that the schola publica needed more space.¹⁰ On 15 June of the same year, the Small Council decreed that the lectures of the professors were to take place in the chapel of Notre Dame La Neuve, which became known as the Auditoire 'because the collège is not meant for such things [the lectures]'¹¹ Therefore, it seems that the newly-constructed buildings rapidly became the preserve of the schola privata alone. Given the comparative attention subsequently given to the schola publica and the schola privata, not to mention the later international renown of the schola publica, all of this may appear somewhat ironic.

A similar relationship between the schola publica and schola privata, greatly to the advantage of the lower age group, can be seen in the collection and distribution of financial resources at the time of the Academy's foundation. The chief cost of the new Academy was that of the buildings. Roussy reported that between April and October 1558, building costs had already risen to 6000 florins.¹² E. W. Monter, in his work on Genevan finance, indicated that the treasury of Geneva spent over 36 000 florins in 1559 for the construction of the Academy's buildings, and in 1560, another 11 178 florins were spent by the city for the same reason.¹³ In total, at least 53 000 florins was disbursed by the Genevan civil authorities in the first two and a half years of construction. The annual budget of the city of Geneva in 1559

⁸ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', pp. 24, 26.

⁹ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', pp. 28, 30.

¹⁰ RC 57, fol. 66, 4 June 1562.

¹¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 91; RC 57, 15 June 1562.

¹² Roussy, Le Collège de Genève, p. 10.

¹³ E. William Monter, Studies in Genevan Government (1536-1605) (Geneva, 1964), p. 25.

was apparently 200 000 florins.¹⁴ If these figures are correct, the treasury disbursed 18% of its annual budget in 1559 on the construction of the Academy's new buildings. And yet the Genevan treasury did not have to dig too deeply to find the necessary funds, since the money came from an extraordinary source of income, namely from the sale of the estates of the Perrinist exiles. These men, opposed to Calvin, had been forced to flee the city in 1555 after their part in a night-time disturbance in Geneva on 16 May. They had taken refuge in neighbouring Berne, while the victorious Calvinist supporters in the Geneva councils pronounced death sentences in absentia on the ring-leaders. The Perrinists had been magistrates and families of some substance, so the sale of their property brought in sufficient funds to cover the ongoing building costs.¹⁵ Monter has calculated that the sale of Perrinist exiles' property brought in 30 129 florins in 1559 and 31 582 florins in 1560.¹⁶ Thanks to this particular source of funds, the cost of the Academy's buildings did not create a deficit in the Genevan municipal budget.

The Genevan treasury was not the only source of funds for the Academy. On 9 September 1559, the Small Council decided to call together all of the city's notaries, to order them to exhort all those making wills to make a legacy to the Academy.¹⁷ Some people also donated money while they were still alive. Finally, during the period of construction of the Academy certain fines imposed on individual Genevans were given to the Academy's funds, rather than to the treasury. For example, in 1562, Jean Bochy was fined approximately 500 florins for having had Calvin's Institutes printed in Lyon, even though printing privileges for that work had been given to Antoine Calvin, the Reformer's brother.¹⁸

The legacies, gifts, and fines were all recorded in a register detailing the name of the giver, sometimes his or her status or profession, and the amount promised as a legacy or donation. In a further column, those in charge of the register noted whether the sum had indeed been paid by the giver or the heirs, or not.¹⁹ In 1558, there were four legacies, promising an eventual total of 325 florins. In 1559, the

¹⁴ Roget, Peuple de Genève, V, p. 231; Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 35; Thévenaz 'L'Ancien collège', p. 24.

¹⁵ Roget, Peuple de Genève IV, pp. 245-288, and Naphy, 'Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation'

¹⁶ Monter, Studies in Genevan Government, p. 25.

¹⁷ There seems to be some conflict over the date of the Small Council's appeal to the notaries, which Borgeaud and Roussy noted as 1558: Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 36; Roussy, Le Collège de Genève, p. 9. Roget, Peuple de Genève, V pp. 231-2; and Monter Studies in Genevan Government, p. 26, recorded it as occurring in 1559.

¹⁸ Roget, Peuple de Genève, V, p. 233.

¹⁹ 'Livre des affaires du Collège' Instruction publique A 1 in AEG.

legacies and gifts were larger, both in number and in amount. Seventeen people promised a total of approximately 1191 florins in gifts for the Academy. By 1560, thirteen people promised approximately 1007 florins, while in 1561, twelve people promised 630 florins, and a thirteenth promised 100 Austrian florins. In 1562, twelve people promised a total of approximately 739 florins in legacies, gifts and fines. The individual donations, legacies, and fines, varied from 5 sols up to 500 florins.

Those leaving money to the Academy were in most cases members of the higher classes. Only 3 habitants are listed as givers in the first four years, as compared with 20 bourgeois and 11 citizens.²⁰ In terms of professions, the registers record donations from printers, merchants, medical doctors, syndics and councillors, ministers and professors, and from students.

It would seem, therefore, that the Small Council's instructions to the notaries had not gone unheeded. The presence of a number of citizens among the donors would suggest that the Academy was seen as a Genevan institution, providing education for young Genevans. On the one hand, one could argue that the legacies made by Genevan bourgeois or citizens were merely the accepted and almost automatic donations which nearly all Genevans made in their wills under the notaries' instructions, and therefore, that the financial record of donations does not demonstrate any particular attachment of the Genevans to the Academy. On the other hand, donations and legacies provided by citizens indicate that even though for some the Academy was primarily an international, rather than a Genevan institution in outlook, nevertheless, Genevans saw the Academy as indigenous enough to merit their support. In other words, the legacies and gifts should not be dismissed as poor indicators of the Academy's place in Genevan minds. Rather, these donations indicate something of the way in which Calvin's educational projects were understood to be good for Geneva and worthy of support. Of course, the donations, particularly in the first years, had a very visible goal, namely the ongoing construction of the schola privata buildings. For its part, the Small Council associated the progress of construction with the number of donations received. On 16 July 1560, the magistrates asked that the building of the collège might be stepped up, so as not to discourage those who were intending to give donations or who had already done so.²¹ The funds collected were eventually placed in a safe-box in one

²⁰ An habitant was someone living in Geneva, without voting privileges. A bourgeois was someone who had either paid a fee to be admitted to the bourgeoisie, or was granted that status for free as thanks for his services to the city. The bourgeois had the right to vote in certain municipal elections. The children born in the city of bourgeois parents were citizens, and as such could both vote and be elected to all levels of Genevan government.

²¹ RC 56, fol. 60, 16 July 1560.

of the chapels of the Genevan cathedral. In order to prevent any fraud, the box had three keys, one held by the syndic presiding over the consistory, one held by the syndic heading the treasury, and one held by the principal of the schola privata.²²

The costs of construction of the Academy's buildings were met by the sale of Perrinist exiles' property by the treasury, and by donations and fines gathered from Genevans. Financial gifts continued to be made well after the buildings were completed, as the register of donations has records of gifts made up until 1621.

Parallel to the search for funds and to the construction of the necessary buildings, Calvin needed to find teaching staff for the Academy. The solution was relatively straightforward for the schola privata, for some of the regents who had taught in the Collège de Rive were available to teach in the new school. However, as Bétant pointed out, the curriculum of the Collège de Rive had never progressed as far as that of the new school, and thus the regents of the Collège de Rive became the regents of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth classes. The teaching posts for the two upper classes, the second and the first, remained to be filled, as did that of the seventh, the entrance class.²³ More important, however, was the search for professors to teach in the schola publica. Calvin needed to locate professors willing to come to Geneva to teach Hebrew, Greek, and arts. Because Geneva had not had any previous institution of similar calibre, there were no local figures who could have been asked to lecture.

In March 1558, Calvin's search led him first to contact Jean Mercier, a leading French Hebraist, with an offer of a lecturing post in Geneva. Mercier was a Lecteur royal in Paris at the time, occupying one of the prestigious chairs endowed by Francis I. Mercier turned down Calvin's offer. Calvin then sent an offer of a chair in Hebrew in August 1558 to Immanuel Tremellius, an even more renowned Hebrew scholar, a converted Jew who had taught in Heidelberg and who had only recently been appointed rector of the Gymnasium at Hornbach by the Duke of Zweibrücken. Tremellius accepted Calvin's offer, conditional on the Duke's agreement. Unfortunately for the Genevan Academy, the Duke of Zweibrücken refused to release Tremellius, so that no progress had been made in filling the Hebrew chair.²⁴ In contrast, in the autumn of 1558, Calvin found a candidate for the chair of Greek, namely Theodore Beza, a young French nobleman, who had been teaching Greek in the Academy of Lausanne. On 27 October 1558, before the Duke of Zweibrücken's refusal to send Tremellius, the registers of the Small Council in Geneva stated that

²² RC 55, fol. 16, 9 March 1559.

²³ Bétant, Notice, pp. 7-8.

²⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 37, 41; Roget, Peuple de Genève, V, pp. 228-9, 233.

there would be three public chairs in the Academy: one of Hebrew, to be held by Tremellius, one of Greek, to be held by Beza, and one of Latin to be held by 'someone who will be coming from Paris'. Each was to be paid 280 florins, a salary which put them between that received by the regents and that received by the city ministers.²⁵

Despite the Genevan authorities' best efforts, various factors intervened to transform the plans set out by the Small Council. Tremellius was unable to come, leaving the chair of Hebrew vacant. Beza was called as a minister in the city and approved as such by the Small Council on 24 November 1558. He then began to assist Calvin in the teaching of theology, rather than Greek. Fortunately for the schola publica, in the first months of 1559, the rest of the teaching staff of the Academy of Lausanne joined Beza in Geneva together with a number of students and most of the Lausanne ministers, after a rupture between the ministers and the town council. In Lausanne, in an uncanny echo of earlier Genevan events, the ministers had refused to follow the ordinances and practices of their Bernese overlords regarding consistorial discipline and the administration of the Lord's Supper. This was a crucial development, since the Lausanne professors and ministers were both French and Reformed. Given that they had preferred the Genevan practice to the Bernese model, it is not surprising that Geneva was their choice of exile. The arrival of qualified professors and regents who had had experience in another French-language academy was a windfall for the Genevan institution. In March and May 1559, the registers of the Small Council recorded the presentation and acceptance of Antoine Le Chevalier as professor of Hebrew, François Bérauld as professor of Greek, and Jean Tagaut as professor of philosophy. Another man from Lausanne, Jean Randon became the regent of the highest class in the schola privata.²⁶

Once the buildings of the new Academy were well under way, once sufficient funds had been found to cover construction and early operational costs, and once the chairs in the schola publica and the regents' posts in the schola privata had been filled, the Genevan Academy could be officially inaugurated. On 5 June 1559, in the cathedral of Saint Pierre, in the presence of ordinary Genevans, pupils, students, magistrates and ministers, the Genevan Academy was publicly launched. After a prayer by Calvin, Michel Roset, the secretary of the Small Council, read out the Academy's statutes and ordinances, and its confession of faith. Then Theodore Beza, who had been appointed as the first rector of the Academy, gave the inauguration address. In his speech, he outlined both the shape of education in the past and the

²⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 41.

²⁶ RC 55, fol. 21, 21 March 1559; fol. 48, 22 May 1559.

role of education in the contemporary context. He described all knowledge, whether of sacred or secular subjects, as stemming from God, thus rejecting the arguments of those who saw a division between sacred and profane learning. Beza's examples came from the Old Testament, on the basis of which he portrayed the patriarchs, Moses, Solomon, and Daniel as men of learning, from the ancient Greeks and their academies, and from Charlemagne. It is important to note that in this speech Beza steered clear of an obscurantist perspective which would have condemned non-theological studies to the realm of the profane and useless. He stated, 'people also praise Solomon and Daniel's erudition in all subjects, which certain people, though wrongly to my mind, describe as profane subjects. Indeed, if one considers the author of these subjects, the almighty and most-merciful God, or their legitimate use, there is nothing in these subjects that is not pure and correct'. Further on, he indicated that non-theological studies were 'as it were, a complement to the study of religion'.²⁷ Beza affirmed that non-theological subjects had value, but at the same time they played a subordinate role in the hierarchy of learning. Furthermore, learning, according to Beza, was not an end in itself. Learning was to be applied along with the knowledge of the true faith in pursuit of virtue and the service of Church and state. Beza proclaimed, '...you have not come here as most of the Greeks of old went to their gymnasia to watch vain wrestling matches. Instead, prepared by the knowledge of the true religion and of all sciences, you can contribute to the glory of God and become the honour of your homeland and the support of your family. Remember always that you will have to account for your service in this holy militia before the supreme commander'.²⁸ Beza's inaugural address suggests that the Academy was not meant as a place in which one merely acquired a good education. Instead, the Academy was to provide goal-oriented training, with a particular, although not exclusive, focus on theology and on the mission which these students were called to fulfil, both as ministers and as laymen in the Calvinist world.

Models

1) Early Genevan education

At this point, it may be worthwhile considering some of the sources and models on which the structure and aims of the Genevan Academy were based. Though some scholars see the *schola privata*'s statutes as an adaptation of the

²⁷ Discours du Recteur Th. de Bèze prononcé à l'inauguration de l'académie dans le temple de Saint Pierre à Genève le 5 Juin 1559 (Orig. published Geneva 1559, reprinted Geneva 1959) Translation H. Delarue, pp. 17, 19.

²⁸ Discours du Recteur, p. 25.

practices followed in the Collège de Versonnex,²⁹ the difference in structure between the schola privata and its Genevan predecessors is quite clear. This was strikingly evident in the new institution's careful structure of classes. The Collège de Versonnex and the Collège de Rive did not divide pupils into groups of similar ability, and had no set standards of examination nor means of assessing progress. In the schola privata, pupils were divided into seven classes, and each class was divided again into groups of ten. Each pupil was assigned a place in his group of ten based on his performance in his schoolwork. The top pupil in each of these sub-units acted as a monitor, overseeing his classmates. Progress from class to class was dependent upon a pupil's performance in the yearly examinations held in May for the entire school. Only those whose performance was judged to be sufficient were allowed to proceed to the next class. The features of internal sub-divisions within classes, and of regulated passage by examination from class to class were not present in the Collège de Versonnex nor in the Collège de Rive.

2)The Brethren of the Common Life

Instead, the inspiration for the organisational structure of the schola privata came from outside Geneva. The reform of education led by the humanists had called for a more systematic approach to study and for a return to classical sources and classical languages.³⁰ According to certain of the older historians, the concrete application of humanist educational principles was first seen in the St. Jérôme gymnasium in Liège, run by the Brethren of the Common Life.³¹ The grounds for such an assertion stem from the fact that Johann Sturm, the Strasbourg educator, is said to have based the curriculum and practice of his Strasbourg gymnasium on that of the St. Jérôme gymnasium, where he had spent 3 years from 1521 to 1524. That Strasbourg was an influential model for later institutions such as Geneva is one matter, but the role and influence of the St. Jérôme gymnasium in Liège is more intangible. Working backwards, Gaufres took it that Sturm's educational proposals to the scholarchs of Strasbourg were based on the structure of the gymnasium of St. Jérôme. The innovative features of the St. Jérôme gymnasium, according to Gaufres, included the methodical organisation of the different classes, progressing from the bases to more complex matters, the division of each class into groups of ten, and the

²⁹ Vuy argued that the rules of the schola privata were in many respects modelled on those of the Collège de Versonnex, Vuy, 'Notes historiques', p. 14. Unfortunately, no examples are given to support his hypothesis.

³⁰ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 22.

³¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 25 and Mathieu-Jules Gaufres, Claude Baduel et la réforme des études au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1880, reprinted Geneva 1969), pp. 52-6.

yearly examinations. These were features which also characterised the schola privata in Geneva.

However, R. R. Post, in his work, The Modern Devotion disputed the precocious originality of the Brethren's school in Liège. Post suggested that Sturm included proposals of his own to the magistrates of Strasbourg, rather than simply memories of Liège. In countering the arguments for the influence of the Brethren of the Common Life on early modern humanist education, Post emphasised firstly how little the Brethren had to do with teaching, given that they usually employed secular priests to teach. Secondly, Post argued that the innovations at Liège were due more to generalised humanist influences rather than to the Brethren themselves.³² Yet the gymnasium of St. Jérôme was one of the first to put humanist principles into practice, though its influence on Geneva's schola privata would have been second-hand at best, filtered through the schools which took up some or all of the practices of the Liège gymnasium.

3) The Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux

Borgeaud asserted that one of the first schools to be modelled on the gymnasium of Liège was the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux, a municipal school headed by André de Gouvea.³³ Gouvea had been principal of the Collège de Sainte Barbe in Paris and was called from Paris to the post of principal of the new college in Bordeaux in 1534, a year after its foundation. No immediately contemporary statutes of the Collège de Guyenne exist, but in 1583, the then principal, Elie Vinet, who had taught as a regent under Gouvea's leadership from 1539 to 1547, described the curriculum and organisation of the Collège de Guyenne as he had experienced it in the early years.³⁴ The school in Bordeaux was divided into 10 classes, and provided above all a thorough grounding in Latin grammar.³⁵ If one accepts that Vinet's

³² R. R. Post, The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism (Leiden, 1968), pp. 558-62 p. 562: 'The programme with which Sturm was personally familiar from his school years 1521-24 is exactly appropriate to the period. It is not an invention on the part of the Brothers but an adaptation of the ideas prevalent at that time in the world of education, which many desired to see put into practice. It was an important step to take and one which did credit to Liège, but it was not the realisation of a creative spirit. The Fraters were merely practising what the Humanists had been preaching for the past thirty or forty years. Their work may still have been considered progressive around 1520, but they were certainly not pioneers'.

³³ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 25.

³⁴ Louis Massebieau, Schola Aquitanica: Programme d'études du Collège de Guyenne au XVI^e siècle (Paris, 1886), pp. VII-VIII.

³⁵ 'Programme d'études du Collège de Bordeaux' in Massebieau, Schola Aquitanica, pp. 5-37.

memories were accurate, his work provides the first basis of comparison with the statutes of the Genevan Academy, although for the most part the Collège de Guyenne did not extend further than the grammar-school level of the schola privata. The most striking feature in terms of the organisation of classes and curriculum in Bordeaux is the lack of mention of religious instruction. Whereas the Genevan statutes speak of opening each day's lessons with a prayer written specifically for the schoolboys, of daily practice in singing the psalms, and of reciting in French at the end of each day the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments,³⁶ the statutes of the Collège de Guyenne only order the daily reciting of the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and the Apostle's Creed in connection with the youngest class. Otherwise, there is no mention of religious training taking place in the classroom.

In other matters, the statutes of the Collège de Guyenne advocated a graduated curriculum, beginning with the alphabet in Latin for pupils in the tenth class. There is no mention of instruction in French at that level, whereas the statutes of the schola privata indicated that in the lowest class, the seventh, both French and Latin were taught, since the children used the Latin-French alphabet and the Latin-French catechism.³⁷

In the Collège de Guyenne, there was no yearly examination allowing pupils to progress to a higher class if they were able to do so. Instead, every three or four months in the lowest classes, and every six months in the eighth class, the principal was notified by each regent as to the pupils who had completed the curriculum of that class. There is no mention of the procedure used for promotion in the higher classes.³⁸ In the two lowest classes, the tenth and the ninth, there appears to have been a ranking of students according to their abilities, so that pupils progressed through the class as well as from one class to another.³⁹ There is no mention, however, of the procedure continuing in the upper classes. On the other hand, the subject matter of the classes in Bordeaux and in Geneva was reasonably similar, if one remembers to take into account the fact that the schola privata originally had only seven classes, whereas the Collège de Guyenne had ten. In both schools, pupils progressed from the alphabet, reading and writing to an exhaustive study of grammar and classical authors. Both schools used Cicero's letters, Ovid, Cicero's

³⁶ 'L'Ordre établi au Collège de Genève par nos magnifiques très-honorez syndiques et conseil' in Thévenaz et al, Histoire du Collège de Genève, pp. 44-5.

³⁷ 'Programme d'études' in Massebieau, Schola Aquitanaica, pp. 5-7; 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du Collège de Genève, p. 46.

³⁸ 'Programme d'études' in Massebieau, Schola Aquitanaica, pp. 11-19.

³⁹ 'Programme d'études' in Massebieau, Schola Aquitanaica, pp. 7, 13.

Discourses, Virgil, and Livy.⁴⁰ In the Collège de Guyenne, the focus remained on Latin. Greek was taught as an entirely separate subject for all pupils starting in the fifth class, focusing on the alphabet, grammar, and Homer and Demosthenes, or similar authors. In Geneva, the study of Greek was an integral part of the regular curriculum beginning in the fourth class.⁴¹

The statutes of the Collège de Guyenne also indicated that its curriculum stretched to a two year course in philosophy which Massebieau described as the programme of the arts licence, that is, as a university-level course similar to that provided in the faculties of arts of contemporary universities. Yet no degrees are mentioned in the statutes and philosophy appears to have been the only university-level course provided. In the space of two years, the two professors were to teach logic and physics, chiefly based on Aristotle. In Geneva, according to its statutes, the philosophy course was similar in its focus on Aristotle, but also included Cicero.⁴²

Overall, the statutes and curriculum of the Collège de Guyenne as described by Elie Vinet are much more detailed than the statutes of the Genevan Academy. They are similar in their division of pupils into distinct classes, each with their own regent and curriculum. Yet they differ in content, for the Collège de Guyenne essentially provided training in Latin grammar and Latin classical authors alone, whereas Geneva's curriculum contained a greater emphasis on religious training as an integral part of teaching at any level, and a greater focus on Greek. Leaving aside the fact that most schools from the 1530s onwards had a similar curriculum and set-up, the organisational features of the Collège de Guyenne are most likely to have come to Calvin's attention via Marturin Cordier, who taught at the Bordeaux college from 1534 to 1536 before going to Geneva.

4) Université des arts et collège de Nîmes

The second French institution which is thought to have been a model for the Genevan Academy was the Collège of Nîmes.⁴³ Like the Collège de Guyenne, it was a municipal foundation, but unlike it, Nîmes received a charter from Francis I in

⁴⁰ 'Programme d'études' in Massebieau, Schola Aquitanica, pp. 13-27; 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du Collège de Genève, pp. 46-8.

⁴¹ 'Programme d'études' in Massebieau, Schola Aquitanica, p. 27, note p. 72. Massebieau, quoting J. Quicherat's work, Histoire de Sainte-Barbe pointed out that the problem with the Greek course lay in the fact that it was the same each year, because the teacher had to begin again with the alphabet for the new students, yet pupils had to take the Greek course from the fifth to the first class. 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du Collège de Genève, pp. 47-8.

⁴² 'Programme d'études' in Massebieau, Schola Aquitanica, p. 27, note p. 71; 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du Collège de Genève, p. 51.

⁴³ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 25-7.

1539, and became the Université des arts et collège de Nîmes. In doing so, Francis I had authorised the creation both of a college similar in level to that of Guyenne, and of a faculty of arts. In 1540, Claude Baduel, a native of Nîmes who had studied in Wittenberg, accepted a call as rector of the university of Nîmes, though his own interests lay more in the direction of the college. A protégé of Marguerite of Navarre, Baduel had also been in Strasbourg in 1538, and was acquainted with Martin Bucer.⁴⁴

No statutes remain for the early years of the Nîmes establishment. In 1540 Baduel did set out in a prospectus, De collegio et universitate Nemausensi, his methods and the goals which he hoped the college and university would reach. According to him, the fault of prior educational strategies had been their lack of systematic progression in terms of curriculum and teaching. 'Until now, no one has paid any attention to the order in which humanities should be taught, and everything was muddled and confused. These pernicious methods will be banished from the new school, where we will adopt methods which conform more to ancient practices, which are more appropriate to the different degrees of development of the child, and to the nature of the subjects he must study, and which, finally, meet our goals of restoring eloquence and the purity of Latin. The school will be divided into different classes according to the age and abilities of the pupils. The teaching of young children will differ from the teaching of adolescents, and each will have its own starting point, methodical progress, and end'.⁴⁵ Baduel went on to describe the Nîmes college's division into eight classes, for pupils from the ages of 5 or 6 to 15, though without giving further details as to the content of the curriculum. From the ages of 15 to 20, Baduel continued, students could attend the public lectures in the faculty of arts, gaining the knowledge, and presumably the diploma needed to pursue university studies in the higher faculties of law, theology, or medicine.⁴⁶

In common with the Collège de Guyenne and Geneva's schola privata, the structure of the Nîmes institution envisaged a careful division into classes and methodical progress from one class to another. The interesting feature of the Nîmes establishment was, however, its faculty of arts. Unlike the Collège de Guyenne, where the philosophy course had lasted two years and seemed of little importance in contrast to the lower school, the faculty of arts in Nîmes was given a higher profile, so that the classes of the college had a visible goal, namely the public lectures.

⁴⁴ Mathieu-Jules Gaufrès, 'Les collèges protestants: Nîmes' BSHPF 23 (1874), 291-3, 297, 301, 339.

⁴⁵ Gaufrès, Claude Baduel, p. 40.

⁴⁶ Gaufrès, Claude Baduel, p. 41.

In 1544, in a letter to Cardinal Sadoletto, Baduel described in more detail the appropriate method and authors to be used in pupils' study of Latin and Greek. Once again, the emphasis lay in acquiring basic vocabulary and basic rules of grammar before proceeding to a study of Classical texts. Interestingly, Baduel recommended Greek because 'the study of Greek will be no less useful to those who wish to acquire elegant learning, which is the goal of our studies, since it is Greek that gave to Latin literature its brilliance and beauty. Rhetoric and dialectic were originally Greek sciences, and those who wish to master such sciences must return to their source, providing a good reason to study that language'.⁴⁷ Baduel made no mention of the study of Greek as a tool for the study of Scriptures, nor is there any mention of religious training within the curriculum, though too few details are given by Baduel to allow for definitive statements on the matter.

If as Borgeaud asserts, Nîmes functioned as a model for the Genevan Academy, its influence on the Genevan set-up was more likely to have been in terms of structure than in terms of content. The dual nature of the Nîmes institution with its college and university was perhaps its most salient feature, and one which would appear again in Geneva. The transmission of the Nîmes model to Geneva was through Baduel himself, who had met Calvin in Strasbourg in 1538, and was one of his correspondents in the following years. He ended his career in Geneva, where he was received as a bourgeois in 1555, as a minister in Geneva's rural parishes of Russin and Dardagnes in 1556, and briefly as professor of philosophy in the Genevan Academy from 1560 until his death in September 1561.⁴⁸

5) The Strasbourg gymnasium

Other institutions, geographically closer to Geneva and chronologically earlier than the University and College of Nîmes exercised an influence on Geneva which was correspondingly greater. Gaufrès admitted that Baduel himself was influenced by the Strasbourg gymnasium, set up by Johann Sturm in 1538. In the end, it may be more appropriate to understand Nîmes' role as a possible model for the Genevan Academy more in the light of a French-language intermediary between Strasbourg and Geneva, rather than an original contributor of teaching or structural elements to the Genevan institution.

The Strasbourg gymnasium was another municipal foundation. Borgeaud and Gaufrès have considered Strasbourg's influence on Geneva in educational matters to be primordial, chiefly because of Calvin's stay in Strasbourg during his

⁴⁷ Gaufrès, *Claude Baduel*, pp. 47-8.

⁴⁸ Gaufrès, *Claude Baduel*, pp. 282-5.

Genevan exile from 1538 to 1541.⁴⁹ Already in 1530 in Strasbourg, two schools offered teaching in Latin and Greek, and one could also attend public lectures in theology, law, rhetoric, poetics, and mathematics, but there was no integrated educational system bringing these different elements together.⁵⁰ In 1538, plans were under way to create a centralised gymnasium in Strasbourg, for which Johann Sturm set out an organisational programme. He insisted particularly on the importance of having only one Latin school, rather than several spread through the city, on the division of pupils into successive classes, on the important role of the rector, and at the same time on that of the civic educational authorities.⁵¹ A year later, the Strasbourg gymnasium was set up with nine classes at the lower level and eleven professors at the upper level, and Johann Sturm was made its rector.⁵² The nine, and later ten classes of the Strasbourg gymnasium followed a curriculum having several factors in common with those of the colleges of Guyenne, Nîmes, and Geneva. The children began by reading and writing Latin, progressing to Greek in the fifth class. Throughout, classical authors such as Cicero, Horace, Virgil, Homer and others were read. Several distinctive features also appear in the Strasbourg model. Each class's curriculum contained a component of religious education, beginning with Luther's German catechism and moving through the Gospels and Epistles in Latin, and later in Greek.⁵³

As in Geneva, the public lectures did not constitute a university until much later, in Strasbourg's case in 1621. Schindling argued that Strasbourg's powerful magistrates did not wish to transform the public lectures into a university because of their dislike and fear of university privileges, particularly in matters of discipline. If the upper-level courses remained within the bounds of the gymnasium, then disciplinary control would continue in the hands of the magistrates overseeing the educational system, namely the scholarchs.⁵⁴ Westphal noted that one of the crucial features of the Strasbourg institution was the unity of its direction, in that one rector oversaw both the gymnasium and the public lectures.⁵⁵ The lectures were divided into two sections, the first dealing with subjects normally taught in the faculty of

⁴⁹ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 27; Gaufres, *Claude Baduel*, pp. 60-1.

⁵⁰ Anton Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und Freie Reichsstadt: Gymnasium und Akademie in Strassburg 1538-1621* (Wiesbaden 1977), p. 28.

⁵¹ 'Mémoires de Jean Sturm sur le projet d'organisation du gymnase de Strasbourg' translated by Charles Schmidt *BSHPF* 25 (1876), 499-505.

⁵² Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, p. 30.

⁵³ Werner Westphal, 'L'Organisation de la Haute Ecole en 1538', *BSHPF* 135 (1989), 25-6.

⁵⁴ Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, p. 388.

⁵⁵ Westphal 'L'Organisation de la Haute Ecole', 27.

arts, such as rhetoric, mathematics, Hebrew, Greek, and poetics. Students could then choose from public lectures in civil law, medicine (from 1540) and theology. As in Geneva in the early years of the Academy, the chair of theology was not given to one single professor. Instead, three city ministers of Strasbourg, Bucer, Capito, and Hedio each lectured for a week in turn.⁵⁶ When Calvin came to Strasbourg in 1538, he was soon asked to lecture, and on 1 February 1539, the scholars' records stated that Calvin was to be paid 52 florins a year as an assistant in the Strasbourg church, because he lectured in theology and preached in French.⁵⁷ Calvin gave exegetical lectures on John's gospel, Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and on other Pauline letters.⁵⁸

Overall, several features of the Strasbourg gymnasium were significant influences on later educational establishments, including Geneva's. Firstly, there was no sense of separation between the lower level grammar school classes and the lectures. Both were under the rector's aegis and under the scholars' control. The lectures were not only in arts as they were in Bordeaux and Nîmes, but instead spread to other fields as well. Finally, one must recall Sturm's aim of 'sapient et eloquens pietas', that is, piety joined to knowledge and eloquence.⁵⁹ Education in Strasbourg combined growth in religious and intellectual understanding, a procedure which reappeared in the academies of Lausanne and Geneva.

6) The Academy of Lausanne

The Academy of Lausanne, as has been noted, was the first Reformed French-language academy, founded in 1537. The Bernese rulers encouraged and paid for the salaries of the first professors, for whom chairs were created in Hebrew, Greek, and theology, although finding professors who would come to Lausanne, and then who would stay, proved to be difficult. The staff of the Lausanne Academy in the early years consisted only of the three aforementioned professors, and of one regent for the lower-level school. The professor of theology, Pierre Viret, was also chief minister of Lausanne.⁶⁰

The statutes of the Lausanne Academy were promulgated by the Bernese authorities only in 1547, ten years after the Academy had been founded. Vuilleumier argued that the statutes of Lausanne were an influence on those of Geneva, particularly because of the important role which Theodore Beza played in both

⁵⁶ Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, pp. 210-341.

⁵⁷ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 28.

⁵⁸ Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, p. 350.

⁵⁹ Westphal, 'L'Organisation de la Haute Ecole', 25.

⁶⁰ Henri Vuilleumier, *Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée du Pays de Vaud sous le régime bernois* (4 vols., Lausanne, 1927-1933) I, *L'Age de la Réforme*, pp. 398-9.

institutions, lecturing in Greek in Lausanne from 1549 and later in theology in Geneva.⁶¹ Vuilleumier also suggested that the Bernese authorities may have taken the academies and universities in Zurich, Strasbourg, and Basle as their models when creating the statutes for the Lausanne Academy.⁶²

In its terminology, Geneva appears to have followed Lausanne. The subdivisions of the Lausanne Academy were known as the schola privata and the schola publica. The curriculum of the schola privata in Lausanne reflects what is known about curricula at that level elsewhere. The pupils learned Latin, studied Cicero and Plutarch, learned Greek, and were allowed to enter a higher class only when they had successfully completed the examinations. The schola publica in Lausanne also resembled that of Geneva in that one of its aims was to provide training for future ministers. It offered lectures in Hebrew, Greek, theology, and arts. The academy was headed by a rector, though a principal was in charge of the schola privata.⁶³ All these elements resurfaced in the organisation of the Genevan Academy.

However, various features of the Lausanne Academy were not taken up by Calvin and his colleagues. In part, the refusal to adopt certain characteristics of the Lausanne Academy had more to do with differing political situations than anything else. Ultimate control of the direction of the Lausanne Academy rested with the Bernese authorities. In Lausanne, the directing body of the Academy was the conseil académique, whose members were the two ministers of the city, the professors of the schola publica, the principal of the schola privata, and the rector, who was elected from among that group. In such a setting, the ministers would have been outnumbered by those who were not ministers. At the same time the chair of theology had been divorced from the ministry by a decision of the Bernese government in 1546.⁶⁴ On the one hand, the professor of theology would have been less distracted from his teaching by the demands of the ministry, but on the other hand, such a decision reinforced the non-seminary approach of the Academy. The other distinctive feature of the Lausanne Academy was the efforts of the Bernese authorities to provide scholarships for students. In 1540, the Bernese rulers created a residence for 12 students attending the Academy of Lausanne. In exchange for their promise to serve the Lords of Berne as ministers or regents after their studies, the students received free room and board, clothing and school supplies. The Bernese were particularly keen to encourage local youth to receive such support, though the

⁶¹ Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, p. 409.

⁶² Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, p. 408.

⁶³ Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, pp. 409-411.

⁶⁴ Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, pp. 407, 413.

first candidates were all French.⁶⁵ According to Vuilleumier, the authorities of Berne also provided scholarships for other students.⁶⁶

While it would seem that the structure, lay-out, and aims of the Lausanne Academy were ones which would be upheld in Geneva as well, the involvement of the secular Bernese government, and the lesser involvement of the Lausanne church in the Academy were aspects that the Genevan Academy did not take up.

The St. Jérôme gymnasium of the Brethren of the Common Life, the Collège de Guyenne in Bordeaux and the university and college in Nîmes, the Strasbourg gymnasium and the Lausanne Academy all acted as models to a greater or lesser extent for the Academy of Geneva. They provided concrete examples of the educational methods of the period. Several features of the Genevan Academy can be traced back to these earlier institutions, yet it was perhaps not so much the use of these models in the creation and organisation of the Genevan Academy, as the way in which their features were adapted which defines the contribution of the Genevan Academy to the history of Calvinist higher education.

The statutes of the Academy of Geneva, which the Genevan Small Council accepted on 29 May 1559, are quite short. They describe the role of the regents, the principal, the professors and the rector, and detail the conduct and curriculum of the pupils of the schola privata and of the students in the schola publica. Finally, they set out regulations for holidays and for the yearly official ceremony known as the promotions, when pupils in the lower school graduated from one class to the next.⁶⁷ The Genevan schola privata was divided into seven classes according to the statutes. As noted, the curriculum focused essentially on Latin, Greek, and religious training. Indeed, it is the prominence given to religious training and practice, even outside school walls, that is the most striking feature of the statutes. For instance, one of the tasks of the regents was to sit in church in assigned pews with their pupils at the Wednesday morning sermon, the two services on Sunday morning and afternoon, and at the catechism session. The pupils were to pay attention, and those who let their minds wander or who did not attend could anticipate being punished publicly in the assembly hall the next day.⁶⁸ As for the students attending the lectures, the statutes made no mention of mandatory church attendance. Each student did have to subscribe to a lengthy confession of faith, a feature absent from the other

⁶⁵ Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, pp. 400-01.

⁶⁶ Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, p. 414.

⁶⁷ 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du collège de Genève, pp. 42-52.

⁶⁸ 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du collège de Genève, p. 44.

educational establishments described above. By agreeing to the confession of faith, the students reinforced the confessional nature of the Academy, since assent to the confession was one of the conditions for matriculation. They had to declare that they would hold to the doctrine of the Genevan church as contained in its catechism, that they would accept its discipline and would reject sects. The various sections of the confession of faith constitute a condensed body of doctrine, including sections on the nature of God, Creation, original sin, the saving role of Christ, grace, justification, the place of Scripture, that of ministers, the role of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and finally, the respect and obedience due to civil authorities.⁶⁹

According to the statutes, two men were responsible in the first instance for the smooth running of the Genevan Academy. The principal, subordinate to the rector, was in charge of the schola privata. The statutes assert that he was to be a regent, and that his duties were to resolve any minor quarrels among the regents and to encourage them in their tasks, to preside over punishments dealt out in the assembly hall, to make sure that the bell was rung at the right time, and that the classrooms were kept tidy. However, he had little authority of his own, since major matters and difficulties were to be brought to the rector.⁷⁰ The rector, as in Lausanne, was to be chosen from among the ministers and professors of the city. In Geneva, this body was known as the Company of Pastors. It also included the ministers of Geneva's rural parishes, but to all intents and purposes, because of distances, the rural ministers played a negligible role in the running of the Academy. According to the statutes, students coming to matriculate in the schola publica were to see the rector, who would notify them of their obligation to appear before the magistrates to be registered as habitants. Then, after they subscribed to the confession of faith, the rector was to enrol them as students. The rector was also to provide letters of testimony for students who were leaving. The rector's post was for two years, after which the incumbent could be re-appointed or replaced. In spite of his administrative role, his power was limited since he was to report any problems to his superiors. 'If there is a need for greater authority, he should leave the matter to the ministers of the Word, apart from matters which the magistrates deal with'.⁷¹

As this implied, the upper levels of authority over the Academy's affairs were divided between the Company of Pastors and the magistrates. In general, the statutes of the Genevan Academy mention the magistrates only in connection with the appointment of regents, professors, and that of the principal and rector. In each

⁶⁹ 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du collège de Genève, pp. 52-7.

⁷⁰ 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du collège de Genève, p. 43.

⁷¹ 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du collège de Genève, p. 48.

instance, the Company of Pastors was to interview, examine, and choose suitable candidates, who then had to be approved by the Small Council. The magistrates were also responsible for practical matters, such as ensuring that pews were reserved for the pupils in the churches, attending the annual promotions if they thought it appropriate to do so, and providing the best pupils with small prizes. Finally, in another sign of the control under which the Academy was placed, the rector could not hold an extraordinary assembly of the students without magisterial consent.⁷² The sentence describing the rector's role would suggest that the respective areas of responsibility of the magistrates and of the Company of Pastors in the running of the Academy had not been entirely defined. Later conflicts between the Company of Pastors and the magistrates over their respective roles stemmed to a large extent from the lack of clarity in the statutes regarding the realm of influence of each.

The statutes do indicate how important the Company of Pastors was, since it was the body that selected those who would teach. As well, since the rector was chosen from among its members, there was little possibility of the rector pushing the Academy in a direction contrary to the wishes of the Company of Pastors, since he had been appointed by the Company, whose members were his colleagues.

The picture emerging from the statutes of the Academy and its administration shows how little independent existence the Academy had. Subordinated to the control of the magistrates and ministers, it was an establishment designed to provide education and training within limits as narrow as the walls of the city. In Strasbourg and Lausanne, albeit from a distance in the latter case, the civil authorities kept an equally tight rein on their establishments of higher education. The Genevan model is unusual, not so much for the role of the magistrates, as for that of the ministers. In no other case studied was the power of the ministers over the direction of the school as great as in Geneva.

Earlier writers on the Academy all agree that the moving force behind its foundation was Calvin, and that his main aim was to create a training centre for ministers.⁷³ There is little sense that the magistrates were the driving force behind the Academy's creation. Fazy suggested that the main feature of the Calvinist Academy, and its most original contribution was 'the perfect balance, the ideal harmony between moral and intellectual education. Neither element is sacrificed, as both contributed equally to the normal development of the disciple and student'.⁷⁴

⁷² 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, *Histoire du collège de Genève*, pp. 42, 44, 48-50.

⁷³ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 51; J.-E. Cellérier *L'Académie de Genève: Esquisse d'une histoire abrégée de l'académie fondée par Calvin en 1559* (Geneva, 1872), p. 15; Fazy, *Le Livre du Recteur*, p. 4; Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 40.

⁷⁴ Fazy, *Le Livre du Recteur*, p. 5.

The importance of this combination of religious and intellectual training is confirmed by Beza's preface to the Latin statutes of the Academy, the leges Academiae Genevensis, in which he writes, 'in the past, even though God had provided her with his most precious gifts, Geneva had to ask for her children to be trained in humanities in the cities and nations which Geneva, from her own resources, had been teaching about that which is much more important, namely the knowledge of the true religion. Such a situation had its disadvantages and difficulties. However, God in his goodness has granted to this republic a privilege which very few have had before her, namely to have the same city as mother of its learning and of its faith'.⁷⁵ In Beza's eyes, the Genevan Academy did more than simply enhance the city's reputation. Instead, by providing scholarly training, it was a vital complement to Geneva's role as a leader in the faith.

The central role of the Company of Pastors and the association of religious and intellectual training are features which appear to be particularly unique to the Genevan Academy. While other centres of learning provided Geneva with structural models, particularly for the schola privata, the combination of humanist learning and Calvinist theology and doctrine was the Genevan Academy's hallmark. Such an approach reflects the influence which Calvin and his ministerial colleagues held. And yet, the town's magistrates also had firm goals where the Academy was concerned. At the most basic level, having overseen the construction of expensive new school buildings, the magistrates were unlikely to relinquish their control over the Academy, given its cost. Furthermore, the magistrates saw the Academy as a city institution, similar to the hospital. As such, the magistrates expected that their decisions, particularly financial ones, regarding the Academy would be accepted. Hence, the seeds of conflict were sown between a vision of the Academy operating within the orbit of the Genevan church and one in which the Academy was to be less oriented towards theology and ministry, turning instead towards a more secular broadening of its teaching and towards a university model.

⁷⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 1.

Chapter III: The Genevan Academy 1559-1572: The Early Years - Mission

Section I: Under Calvin

When the Genevan Academy was inaugurated on 5 June 1559, the response from other areas to its creation was not uniformly positive. Some, like the Bernese minister Johannes Haller, did not believe that the Genevan Academy could have more than a regional impact. In a letter to Bullinger on 8 October 1559, Haller wrote, 'The Genevans are creating an Academy which will draw only their own young men. For it is unlikely that given the high price of food and the uncertain situation which prevails in Geneva, the Academy will be well attended'.¹ Yet Calvin's aims for the Academy encompassed a greater field of action than simply Geneva itself. In order to see whether Calvin's and later Beza's aims for the Academy were put into practice, it is worth considering the first period of the Genevan Academy's existence, from its foundation in 1559. This initial period may be deemed to run until the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572, an event which had several repercussions on Geneva and on its institution of higher education.

After having planned the creation of the Genevan Academy for many years, after having worked for its financial establishment in the late 1550s, and after having seen to its statutes and inauguration, Calvin was unable to direct the Genevan Academy's course for long, as he died in 1564, five years after the Academy's official inauguration. And yet because of his earlier efforts spanning twenty years, Calvin was able to mould the Academy from its inception, so that his impact on the Academy lasted well beyond the five years from 1559 until his death.

Calvin's role in the Academy was not only that of an organiser. Alongside Le Chevalier, Bérauld, Tagaut, and Beza, Calvin taught theology in the schola publica three hours a week every two weeks until four months before his death. Indeed, while Beza was in France between August 1561 and April 1563, Calvin carried Beza's teaching load as well as his own. For Calvin and Beza, their lecturing in the schola publica was merely one of the aspects of their responsibilities as pastors. Thus, they did not receive any salary for their lecturing work.² In a sense, therefore, Calvin and Beza continued in the Academy the public exegetical lectures which they had held prior to the Academy's creation. All that had changed was that their lectures now took place in a more structured environment. The fact that both Beza and Calvin

¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 51.

² Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 53.

taught in the schola publica while remaining full-time ministers in Geneva indicates something of the close ties between the Genevan Academy and the Genevan church.

The other three men who lectured in the Genevan schola publica, Le Chevalier in Hebrew, Bérauld in Greek, and Tagaut in arts, were known as lecteurs publics, receiving yearly salaries of 280 florins.³ Le Chevalier, as professor of Hebrew, taught 8 hours a week, divided into 3 hours of Old Testament interpretation and 5 of Hebrew grammar. The Greek professor Bérauld had 8 hours of teaching as well, 3 of ethics and 5 of interpretation of Greek authors. Finally, Tagaut, whose interests lay primarily in mathematics, taught one and a half hours a week of physics or mathematics, and 5 hours a week of dialectic or rhetoric.⁴ There appears to be some confusion in the Academy's statutes and in later scholars' minds as to the timetable of the arts courses. Whereas the preamble to the section on the Hebrew, Greek, and arts lectures states that all three professors should teach for an hour on Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday mornings, the section dealing specifically with the arts lectures states, 'The arts professor shall follow the professor of Greek in the morning and shall lecture on a physics work for half an hour'.⁵ Over 3 days, the professor of arts would thus only teach for an hour and a half, as compared with three hours for his colleagues.

Tagaut's interest in mathematics was such that instead of being described as a professor of arts, the Company of Pastors' registers stated that 'M. Jean Tagaut has been elected as professor of mathematics'.⁶ The statutes of the schola publica were flexible enough to allow those who lectured to direct the content of their teaching towards their areas of interest or of expertise. Tagaut was able to add mathematics to the arts curriculum which had been defined in the statutes as physics, Aristotle's Rhetoric, Cicero's Orationes or his de Oratore.⁷

The first professors were all men of reputation. Le Chevalier was a renowned Hebraist, who had also taught in Cambridge and Strasbourg. While in Geneva Le Chevalier published a Hebrew grammar in 1560, dedicating it to Beza and hinting at a second volume which would contain rules of syntax and a lexicon. In his dedication, Le Chevalier stated that he hoped his work would help to dissipate the darkness surrounding Hebrew and the other liberal arts, for the good of posterity.⁸ Given that the interest in Hebrew studies was relatively recent, Le Chevalier's work

³ RC 55, fol. 21, 21 March 1559.

⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 52.

⁵ 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du collège de Genève, p. 51.

⁶ RCP II, 17 March 1559, p. 86.

⁷ 'L'Ordre établi' in Thévenaz, Histoire du collège de Genève, p. 51.

⁸ H. Aubert, H. Meylan, A. Dufour, Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze (14 vols., Geneva, 1960-), III, p. 32.

could help to increase the Genevan schola publica's profile. Some measure of its popularity can be gauged by the fact that it was reprinted four times before 1600 in Geneva alone, in 1567, 1590, 1591, and 1592.⁹ Though Le Chevalier remained in Geneva and taught Hebrew in the schola publica until 1567, his international reputation was such that offers came from elsewhere for him to take on other roles. In July 1561, Le Chevalier's name was suggested by the church of Paris as a possible companion to Beza for the Colloquy of Poissy, although in the end Beza alone was Geneva's representative.¹⁰ In December 1561, the Small Council received a letter from France, asking for Le Chevalier. In spite of Calvin and Beza's worries about losing Le Chevalier, he remained in Geneva, although the ministers and magistrates did suspect that Le Chevalier had been thinking of leaving the city.¹¹ In February 1564, 3 months before Calvin's death, Le Chevalier received another call from France, this time from Caen, near his birth-place. The church of Caen wanted Le Chevalier to come and teach in their city, but Le Chevalier remained in Geneva.¹² Calvin's support for the Hebrew course in the schola publica is evidenced by his reaction when the letter came in 1561 inviting Le Chevalier to France. Immediately, Calvin wrote to Beza in France, asking him to contact Jean Mercier, the French Hebrew scholar, about potential replacements.¹³

Le Chevalier's relatively long service of 7 years in the schola publica was a bonus, especially as other professors did not last as long. The Greek professor, François Bérauld, taught in the schola publica for two years, until September 1561. His departure seems to have been caused by a lack of funds, in that the salary paid to him by the Small Council was not enough for him and his family to make ends meet.¹⁴ Whether Bérauld had made complaints in the past, or whether, as Borgeaud suggested, he was not known for staying in any place for any length of time,¹⁵ in any event, Beza was not surprised to hear from Calvin that Bérauld was leaving. On 27 September 1561, writing to Calvin from Saint-Germain, Beza noted, 'As regards Bérauld, I have seen happen what I suspected would occur, but I am glad to hear reports of a successor'.¹⁶ The successor was François Portus, from Crete, who had served the Duchess of Ferrara before coming to Geneva. He was appointed

⁹ P. Chaix, A. Dufour, G. Moeckli, Les Livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600 (Geneva, 1966), pp. 43, 66, 127, 130, 133.

¹⁰ Aubert, Correspondance, III, pp. 119, 129.

¹¹ Aubert, Correspondance, III, p. 245.

¹² Aubert, Correspondance, V, p. 142 footnote.

¹³ Aubert, Correspondance, III, pp. 244-5.

¹⁴ RCP II, 1562, p. 96.

¹⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 65.

¹⁶ Aubert, Correspondance, III, p. 165.

professor of Greek on 25 September 1561, and was received as a bourgeois free of charge in December of the same year.¹⁷ He remained in Geneva until his death in 1581.

The professor of arts, Jean Tagaut, lasted even less time than his colleague in Greek, since Tagaut died on 31 July 1560, slightly over a year after the inauguration of the Academy. His post needed to be filled as rapidly as possible, so as to avoid a lengthy and potentially damaging vacancy. By August 1560, his post had been filled by Claude Baduel, the former rector of the university and college of Nîmes. Baduel's appointment was more of an interim arrangement than a permanent solution, particularly as his health was poor. He was already 69, and died on 8 September 1561, after a year of lecturing.¹⁸ His death left the Genevan authorities searching again for a professor of arts. This time, the search appears to have taken longer, for throughout the autumn of 1561 and even into the first months of 1562, Beza's letters from France recorded his attempts to find a professor of arts for the *schola publica* in Geneva. On 19 September 1561, Calvin wrote to Beza that no successor had yet been elected to Baduel's post.¹⁹ On 27 September, Beza wrote to Calvin from Saint-Germain, offering to try to find a successor to Baduel.²⁰ A month later, Beza wrote again to Calvin from Saint-Germain, saying that he had been inquiring from friends for a possible successor to Baduel, but without success.²¹ He sent the same information in another letter to Calvin dated 30 October 1561, though Beza did add that he had a possible candidate in mind, a certain Sonellus, about whom nothing is known.²² Beza was still searching for a successor to Baduel on 4 November, 16 December, and 22 December, and on 31 December 1561, he received encouragement from Calvin to continue his search, as Calvin noted, 'We would be grateful, if as soon as possible someone could come to succeed Baduel'.²³

In January 1562, the search was still continuing, for Beza wrote to Calvin from Paris that he had found a possible successor to Baduel. The man, not named by Beza, was willing to accept all the conditions of the post, but asked for his travel and that of his family from Paris to Geneva to be paid for him. He also asked to have his library moved at Genevan cost. Mercier recommended him, especially because of his skill in Hebrew, which seems unusual for someone who was to lecture in arts. Beza

¹⁷ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 76.

¹⁸ Aubert, *Correspondance*, III, pp. 146-7.

¹⁹ Aubert, *Correspondance*, III, p. 154.

²⁰ Aubert, *Correspondance*, III, p. 165.

²¹ Aubert, *Correspondance*, III, p. 196.

²² Aubert, *Correspondance*, III, p. 202.

²³ Aubert, *Correspondance*, III, pp. 206, 242, 244, 255.

then asked that the Genevan authorities send their response promptly.²⁴ The candidate in question is thought to be Matthieu Béroald, who did not come to Geneva in the 1560s, but rather later, in 1574.²⁵ Though the Small Council's response in 1562 was favourable to Béroald being hired as professor of arts, he did not come, so that Beza's efforts to find an immediate successor to Baduel suffered another setback.²⁶ Two reasons explain why Béroald refused the Genevan offer of a post. Firstly, in a letter to Beza dated 28 January 1562, Calvin told Beza that he was to negotiate with Béroald, so that Béroald would not ask for more money than Geneva's meagre resources could afford.²⁷ In other words, the financial support wished for by Béroald and that provided by the Genevans might have been too much at odds to appeal to the French scholar. Secondly, in a letter dated 4 March 1562, Beza informed Calvin that Béroald was ill with pleurisy, and that he was not yet on the road to recovery.²⁸

In the meantime, however, the chair of arts in Geneva's schola publica had not been left entirely vacant. Borgeaud stated, without offering any evidence, that Henry Scrimger, a Scot from Dundee who was overseeing Ulrich Fugger's interests in the Genevan printing industry, began lecturing in philosophy for free during the autumn of 1561.²⁹ If such were the case, one would have to take it that Scrimger's lecturing was only an interim arrangement, since throughout the autumn and winter of 1561-2, Beza was searching for a suitable replacement for Baduel in France. Yet the fact that no mention was made of Scrimger either by Calvin in his letters to Beza or vice-versa would tend to suggest that Scrimger was not lecturing, or that his contribution was so minimal as to be easily ignored. Borgeaud supported his case by pointing out that Scrimger was received as a bourgeois free of charge in December 1561, 'because of the abilities and talents which he has received from our Lord, with which he will be able to serve our republic and our college'.³⁰ The future tense suggests that Scrimger's talents were not being put to use prior to that particular moment.

If one does accept that Scrimger was providing lectures in philosophy these were interrupted in any event by his mission to the German princes in the summer of 1562, to raise funds for France.³¹ Borgeaud suggested that in Scrimger's absence,

²⁴ Aubert, Correspondance, IV, pp. 25-6.

²⁵ Aubert, Correspondance, IV, p. 27.

²⁶ Aubert, Correspondance, IV, p. 27.

²⁷ Aubert, Correspondance, IV, p. 28.

²⁸ Aubert, Correspondance, IV, p. 68.

²⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 74.

³⁰ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 74 footnote.

³¹ Aubert, Correspondance, IV, pp. 100-01.

Jacques des Bordes, from Bordeaux, began to lecture in arts. Pierre Viret recommended des Bordes to Calvin on 9 April 1562, stating 'He is a man well-versed in humanities, firmly pious and full of zeal for the Reformed faith. He has abandoned his medical studies to devote himself to a higher calling. The people of Bordeaux, his birthplace, have given him a travel bursary, hoping that he will enter the holy ministry. By exhorting him to complete successfully that which he has undertaken so well, you will encourage an active runner who has already covered much ground'.³² Borgeaud stated that it was probable des Bordes taught in Scrimger's absence, although no evidence on the matter is given. Certainly, des Bordes did some lecturing in arts before March 1563, for the registers of the Company of Pastors on 11 March 1563 stated that des Bordes 'had been lecturing in philosophy'. On the same date, he was 'ordained to preach', and his post as professor of arts was taken over by Henry Scrimger.³³

By June 1563, Scrimger was receiving a salary for his teaching, and had been given 200 florins for his lecturing prior to that date.³⁴ In the course of four years, the chair of arts had had as many incumbents. Some, like Tagaut, were men of calibre whose career was cut short, and others seem to have held the post more as a temporary arrangement to keep the lecturing going and as a stop-gap measure before they went on to other things. Hebrew and Greek appeared to fare better, although the concern expressed in Beza and Calvin's correspondence over the possible or actual departure of the Academy's professors indicates something of the anxiety felt by the Genevan ministers about their ability to attract professors to the Genevan schola publica.

Even when professors were found, they were not always satisfied with their conditions of employment. On 7 August 1559, Calvin appeared before the magistrates to ask that the professors might be housed in appropriate lodgings so that they could have boarders. The Small Council agreed to do what it could.³⁵ By 22 August 1559, the Small Council decided that the professors would have to organise the distribution of lodgings among themselves.³⁶ That solution, however, was not satisfactory, since quarrels and complaints broke out among the professors and regents as to who was to get which lodgings. On 29 August 1561, Le Chevalier

³² Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 77.

³³ RCP II, 11 March 1563, p. 101.

³⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 78.

³⁵ RC 55, fol. 78, 7 August 1559.

³⁶ RC 55, fol. 84, 22 August 1559.

asked the Small Council for larger lodgings to be able to take in boarders.³⁷ The Small Council agreed to his request. On 6 October 1561, Claude Bardet, the regent of the seventh class in Geneva's schola privata, asked to be allowed to move into Le Chevalier's old lodgings, which were less humid than his own. The Small Council, however, refused, and said he was to be content with what he had.³⁸ On 16 February 1562, the Greek professor, François Portus, asked to be given more rooms, because he had a large family.³⁹ On that occasion, the Small Council agreed to give him more rooms, but, clearly annoyed by the ceaseless demands and complaints, the magistrates decided on 29 September 1562 to allocate permanently lodgings attached to each chair in the schola publica. To eliminate any future recrimination, they even decided to have a sign made, indicating 'in big letters' which lodging was for the incumbent of which chair.⁴⁰ In spite of their efforts, the magistrates still faced complaints, for on 19 August 1563, Le Chevalier indicated that he was not satisfied with his lodgings. The magistrates decided that the Company of Pastors was to reprove him, and pointed out that of all the professors, Le Chevalier had the best accommodation.⁴¹

The second problem which the Small Council had to deal with was a financial one. When the Academy was opened, the first professors earned 280 florins a year, while the regents earned 240 florins annually.⁴² In the same year, city ministers were earning 300 florins a year, while their rural colleagues made do with 240 florins annually.⁴³ Thus, the city ministers were earning slightly more than the Academy's professors, whereas the regents' wages were the same as those of rural ministers, indicating something of the lower esteem in which teaching in the schola privata was held. By 1562, the professors' yearly salary had risen to 400 florins, whereas city ministers in that year still only earned 300. The pastors only caught up to the professors in the following year, when their salary was also raised to the 400 florin level.⁴⁴

In 1559 therefore, the Genevan civic authorities were paying a total of 840 florins in salary to the professors of Hebrew, Greek, and arts. Beza and Calvin did not receive any extra money for their theology lectures. By 1562, the total amount

³⁷ Aubert, Correspondance, III, p. 175.

³⁸ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 34.

³⁹ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 35.

⁴⁰ Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', p. 36.

⁴¹ RC 58, fol. 92, 19 August 1563.

⁴² Thévenaz, 'L'Ancien collège', pp. 68, 70-1.

⁴³ Jean-François Bergier, 'Salaires des Pasteurs de Genève au XVI^e siècle' in Mélanges d'histoire du XVI^e siècle offerts à Henri Meylan (Geneva, 1970), p. 168.

⁴⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 54; Bergier, 'Salaires des Pasteurs', p. 168.

paid to the schola publica's professors of Hebrew, Greek, and arts had risen to 1200 florins. While the Small Council's total outlay for ministers' salaries was greater because there were more ministers than professors in Geneva, the professors' salaries were ones which had not featured previously in the Genevan city budget. It is not surprising, therefore, that Calvin cautioned Beza to restrain Mathieu Béroald's financial demands in view of the paucity of Genevan resources.

E. W. Monter, in his study of Genevan public finance pointed out that in the 1540s, secularisation of institutions previously part of the Catholic church was profitable for the Genevan economy. He continued, 'However, Geneva's situation changed later in the century, principally after the foundation of Calvin's Academy in 1559 had added a large annual charge to the budget which could not be balanced by any substantial additions of revenue'.⁴⁵ In founding the Academy and in keeping it going, the Genevan public authorities were running a considerable risk. Future events would show how prescient Monter's view was as to the precarious nature of Genevan public finances and their repercussions on the survival of the Genevan schola publica.

All of the actions taken so far in favour of the schola publica represented a major investment on the part of the magistracy. In return, the magistrates hoped to provide better education for Genevan inhabitants, and to attract students, and hence business, from elsewhere. An analysis of matriculation data suggests that in the first years at least, they were more successful in the latter, rather than the former aim. Meanwhile, the Company of Pastors had its own agenda, principally the training of ministers. The same data suggests that it was in this earliest period, in the schola publica's mission phase, that this purpose was most successfully achieved.

One must, however, bear in mind that the matriculation lists, though helpful, are incomplete and partially misleading, in that some students who did attend the schola publica never matriculated, and others who were not students, such as those in the entourage of noble students, did sign the matriculation register.

Over the five-year period from 1559 to 1564, the Genevan Academy attracted 339 matriculated students.⁴⁶ The fluctuation in yearly totals of matriculating students corresponds to the periods of disturbance and peace elsewhere, so that for instance, in 1561 and 1562, the number of matriculated students in Geneva dropped significantly, as the civil wars engulfed France. The early dominance of French

⁴⁵ Monter, Studies in Genevan Government, p. 20.

⁴⁶ Numerical analysis stems from the data taken from Sven and Suzanne Stelling-Michaud, Le Livre du Recteur (6 vols., Geneva, 1959-1980), and organised and analysed by me.

students is borne out by the figures on the students' places of origin. Between 1559 and 1564, the lowest percentage of students of French origin in a given year was in 1564, when 61.4% of students came from France. The highest percentage was in 1562, when 86.3% of students were French. Hence, significantly more than half the students each year came from France. Students from other areas were therefore very much in the minority. Those from the Piedmont and from Switzerland made up the next largest group of students, though their highest percentage in a year lagged far behind the French, at 8.8% of the total number of students coming from the Piedmont in 1559, and 15.8% of students coming from Switzerland in 1561. Consequently, the early emphasis of the Genevan schola publica on France and the mission to France was reinforced by the large influx of students from France coming to study in Geneva.

The Genevan schola publica's emphasis on ministerial training was also vindicated by the number of those who, following their years of study in Geneva, entered the ministry. If one subtracts from the annual total of matriculating students the relatively large number of students whose later career is not known, approximately 2/3 of students whose career is known became ministers. Percentages range from 64.1% of students in 1563 who became ministers to 77.8% of students who did the same in 1561. Other professions such as doctors, lawyers, civil servants, merchants and others made up the rest of the percentages each year, but no one profession attracted as many students as did the Reformed ministry. [Graphs 1 and 2]

Students attending the schola publica paid no matriculation fees. Living expenses were the only costs they had to meet. Apart from financial commitments, in the first years of the Academy students were registered as habitants upon matriculation. Therefore, they also had civic duties to perform, although student status could also serve to help avoid some of the habitants' civic duties, as on 4 March 1561, when Jean-François Galateus, from Piedmont, was able to convince the magistrates that because he was a student, he ought to be exempted from the watch.⁴⁷

There are few reports from students on their stay in Geneva during this early period. Some evidence does survive, provided by former students such as Lambert Daneau, from France. His assessment of the schola publica from his student days is one of the earliest documents available on the students' perception of the Academy. In a dedicatory letter to the Genevan magistrates included in his 1576 commentary on Augustine's On heresies, Daneau wrote, 'In 1560, I came to your Academy, full of enthusiasm, not because it was close to the French border, for there were others in

⁴⁷ RC 56, fol. 155, 4 March 1561.

the vicinity, but because it offered to me the purest source of that celestial doctrine held by my mentor, the martyred jurist Anne du Bourg. I do not need to name the professors I met, since both those who have since died and those still living are admired by all. However, without fear of arousing anyone's jealousy, I will say freely that so many leading lights, so many talented and famous men in all branches of learning were in that city, that it seemed to me to be one of the richest intellectual trading markets in the world'.⁴⁸ Admittedly, Daneau wrote these words in a dedication intended to flatter its recipients, and also, perhaps, to obtain better salary and working conditions from the civil authorities. Indeed, after having dedicated his work to the Genevan magistrates, Daneau received 10 ecus, or approximately 60 florins from the civil authorities as a token of their thanks.⁴⁹ While Daneau's dedication was a welcome tribute to the combination of intellectual talents and of sound doctrine in Geneva, his views must be accepted with care, given the circumstances in which he was writing his comments.

The mission to France

By and large, the Genevan documents which provide information on the schola publica for the period 1559 to 1564 reveal two principal, if contrasting preoccupations. Firstly, there were practical matters, such as the ongoing construction of the school buildings and the establishment of the Genevan Academy's library. Thereafter, much attention was focused on the role which the majority of students in the period were aiming for, namely ministry in France. The registers of the Company of Pastors in the first five years of the Academy's existence detailed the names of those sent as ministers to France, and revealed very little about those who had come to study in Geneva. Indeed, during this period of rapid expansion of Calvinism in France, the efforts of the Company of Pastors were directed towards the rapid provision of ministers to meet the needs of increasing numbers of congregations. Speed, rather than time-consuming, but perhaps more in-depth training, was required. In the early 1560s in particular, the Genevan ministers concentrated on sending out ministers with a basic level of training, and used the schola publica as a means to attain this goal. The establishment of the schola publica was important in ensuring a certain uniformity of training, but one can wonder whether the rapidity at which this training was conducted was detrimental to its effectiveness.

⁴⁸ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 52.

⁴⁹ RC 71, fol. 42, 16 March 1576.

For instance, Jean Blanchard, from St. Julien en Champsaur, in France, matriculated in the schola publica in 1559, having been received as an habitant in Geneva on 1 May 1559. By 1560, Blanchard was appointed as minister in Geneva's hospital, a post which he held for two years. In 1562, he was sent to Gap in France as a minister, and continued thereafter as a minister in various French churches. At best, therefore, he had one year of full-time study in the schola publica, though it is possible that his duties as minister in the hospital allowed him to continue attending some lectures. One could consider his stint in the hospital as practical training, but in that case, it is clear how much more time was given to practical training as compared with scholarly learning.

Other students' stay in the schola publica was equally brief. Gélibert Blauzat, from Chantelle-le-Château in France matriculated in Geneva sometime in 1560. By 1561 he was a minister in Remoulins in France. Germain Chauveton, from La Châtre, in France, was received as habitant in Geneva in May 1559, and by May 1560 had been sent by the Genevan Company of Pastors as a minister to St. Martin en Ré, in France. Pierre Chevillard, from Houdan, in France, was given more time for his studies. He matriculated in Geneva's schola publica in 1560, and only became a minister in France in 1562. Antoine Durant, from the Cévennes, also had two years in the Academy before being sent to Bourges by the Company of Pastors in 1562. Etienne Defos, however, from Merry-la-Vallée only had a year in Geneva, from April 1559 until 1560, when he became a minister in France, in La Châtre en Berry. Time was even shorter for Jean de Lassus, from Montauban, who matriculated in Geneva in 1561, and in the same year became a minister in France. The same was true for Hugues de Regnard, who became a minister in France in 1559, the same year in which he had matriculated in Geneva. Pierre Sachet, from Orléans, was somewhat more fortunate, since he matriculated in Geneva in 1560, and was only sent by the Company of Pastors to the church of Marsillargues in southern France in 1561. In his case, the ministers noted that he had been sent in response 'to a request [from the church] as from all the others, that it be sent a man able and fit to undertake the office of pastor'.⁵⁰

Gilles Solas, from Montpellier, had two years to prepare himself, since he matriculated in 1559 and only became a minister in Sauveterre in 1561. François Terond, from Sauve, had three years of study, from 1559 until 1562, when he became a minister in Neyreieis in central France. Titus Veluysat, however, from Neuchâtel, spent just a year at the Genevan schola publica, from 1561 to 1562 before becoming a minister in Cornaux in 1562. Jean Rapine, from Nevers in France matriculated in the Genevan schola publica in 1563. In 1564 the church of Nevers wrote to the Company

⁵⁰ RCP II, 1561, p. 95.

of Pastors, asking them not to employ him elsewhere. In 1565, the church of Nevers called Rapine as their minister, after he had been in Geneva for two years.⁵¹ In each of the cases mentioned above, the Genevan schola publica was the one centre of higher education which these men were known to have attended. In other words, the brief period they spent in Geneva was their only opportunity to acquire any formal training for their ministerial career.

Overall, it would seem that the effort to train young men as rapidly as possible to be sent out as ministers with a minimum of delay took place before 1563, before the French situation became too polarised between the militant Catholics led by the Guises, and the French Reformed led by Condé and Coligny.⁵² This corresponds with the findings of Robert Kingdon on the Genevan mission to France in that he noted a significant fall in the number of men sent out from Geneva after 1563.⁵³

As well as providing formative, though rapid training for young men entering the parish ministry, the schola publica also acted as a stop-over and retraining or refresher-course centre for those already in the ministry. Former monks and priests, such as Arnould Cordier, who had been a priest in the Lorraine, Jean Cormère, a former Franciscan friar from the Rouergue, Ennemond de Lacombe, a former Carmelite monk from the Dauphiné, Jean Mutionis, a former monk from Grasse in southern France, and Jean Le Sur, from Arras, another former Carmelite monk, all came to Geneva after converting to the Reformed faith and before being sent out as ministers.

Although Kingdon argues that more care was taken over former Catholic clerics entering the ministry, so as to verify their vocation,⁵⁴ this does not necessarily seem to hold true, at least for the five former Catholic clerics described above. Cordier attended the Genevan schola publica from 1560 to 1561, and already in 1562 was assigned a parish in northern France. Cormère, who had converted in 1558, was an habitant of Geneva and matriculated in its schola publica in 1559, and was a minister in Ste Foy in 1560, in Agen between 1560 and 1561, in Lectoure in 1561, and in Toulouse in 1562. Ennemond de Lacombe spent slightly more time in Geneva, since he came to the city and matriculated there before 1560, and was sent as a

⁵¹ Stelling-Michaud, Le Livre du Recteur, II, pp. 224, 228-9, 484, 497; III, pp. 33-4, 201; IV, 273; V, pp. 276, 291, 433, 587; VI, pp. 12, 134.

⁵² David Nicholls, 'France' in The Early Reformation in Europe ed. by Andrew Pettegree (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 139-40.

⁵³ Robert Kingdon, Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement 1564-1572 (Geneva, 1967), pp. 30-6.

⁵⁴ R. Kingdon, Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France 1555-1563 (Geneva, 1956), p. 10.

minister to Romans in France in 1562. Jean Mutonis, however, was among the fastest to proceed through his studies, since he matriculated in the schola publica in 1560, and in the same year, became a minister at Montagnac and a preacher at Nîmes. Jean le Sur took a little more time, attending the schola publica in Geneva in 1563 and the academy of Orléans in 1564. Having spent a year in each place, he became a minister in 1565, in France.

Those who were already Reformed pastors also sometimes matriculated in the Genevan schola publica during the early years of its existence, while they waited to be called to a new parish or because they had had to flee their current parish during persecutions. Given that some of the men who had been sent out to France had not always had time to acquire much training in Reformed exegesis or in the languages of Scripture, a stay in Geneva and a period in the schola publica might have appealed to certain ministers as a chance to improve upon their skills. For instance, Claude Courtois from Seurre in France was a minister in 1561 in the household of M. de Soubise, matriculated in Geneva in 1562, and was back in France as a minister in 1563.⁵⁵

Some who were ministering in French parishes wished for nothing more than a chance to return to Geneva's schola publica to consolidate their learning. Such was the case of Nicolas Le More, from Angers. He had matriculated in Geneva's schola publica in 1559, and was sent by the Company of Pastors to the Guyenne in southwestern France in 1560. Le More became minister at Mont-de-Marsan, Roquefort, and Bazas in 1561. In a letter written from Bazas on 1 November 1561, Le More detailed the problems that he was facing in his parishes, problems which he attributed at least in part to his too brief training period. He also asked to be allowed to return to the Genevan Academy. 'Gentlemen and revered fathers: A year ago, God called me to the ministry of His Holy Word through you, on the condition that once the year was over, I could return to my studies. Without this condition, I would not have thought it right to accept the charge. [...] Now apart from your promise and my failings, which alone are enough to lead me to beg you to keep your promise, I have several other reasons which lead me to make this request. Firstly, people have received me very badly here, in part because of my inability, and partly, they say, because I am too young and that it is impossible that I should be learned. For this reason, God's Word does not carry its accustomed authority. Everyone is scrutinising my sermons, going so far as to say that I have held Anabaptist views. [...] If I have to reprimand them, they do not heed me because of my youth. [...] Furthermore, I admit that one of my faults is my speed of speech. Because I speak too fast, and because I am in an area where they understand French only with

⁵⁵ Stelling-Michaud, Le Livre du Recteur, II, pp. 562, 563, 581; IV, pp. 236, 325, 634.

difficulty, they do not profit much [from what I say]. [...] If I am not being as patient as I should be, please forgive me this fault. Remember that I am still learning, and still very young, and that I really need to return to my studies'.⁵⁶

At least some former students of the Genevan schola publica felt that their training had been too rapid, and that they were ill-equipped to face the demands of ministry, particularly because of their youth and lack of experience. In the years up until Calvin's death, Geneva's main export was ministers, principally heading for France. The urgency of the situation in France meant that many ministers were sent out with only the sketchiest training. But this was a situation which continued only for the first five years of the Academy's existence. In 1564, Calvin died. More to the point, the religious situation in France was also changing fundamentally at this time. With the first religious war of 1562-63, and the peace of Amboise with which it concluded, the period of Calvinism's most rapid expansion in France came to an abrupt end. Henceforth, the number of churches in France stabilised, if it did not actually fall. In consequence, the demand for missionary pastors declined sharply. From this point on, Geneva's relationship with the French churches, though still close, would be with settled, established, and increasingly independent congregations. This had an inevitable impact on the work of the schola publica.

Section II: Under Beza

Calvin's successor in the Genevan Academy and church was his junior partner and colleague, Theodore Beza. In spite of his lengthy absences in France during the first years of the Academy's existence, Beza's concern for Geneva's educational institution did not diminish as shown by his constant effort to find appropriate professors for the schola publica. Beza also succeeded Calvin as the leader of the Genevan Company of Pastors, and could thus bring his influence to bear on his colleagues when dealing with academic affairs.¹

Beza's role in the Genevan church, in his teaching in the schola publica, and in the Reformed church in general has usually been described as one which attempted as much as possible to follow in Calvin's footsteps, and to deviate from Calvin's approach as little as possible.⁵⁷

Beza maintained continuity in the chairs of the schola publica by ensuring the provision of professors for its chairs in spite of difficult circumstances inside and

⁵⁶ Nicolas Le More to the Church of Geneva, 1 November 1561, BSHPF 46 (1897), 466-8.

⁵⁷ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 323-4.

outside Geneva. The chair of Greek presented little problem, since François Portus occupied it during the period under discussion and beyond. The registers of the Small Council for the period 1564 to 1572 mentioned Portus only in connection with practical and financial matters, as on 18 January 1570, when the magistrates were informed that Portus was in financial need and that he had never been a burden on the Seigneurie. In response, the Small Council decided to give him 25 écus, or about 125 florins. The magistrates' response was equally positive on 18 April 1570, when Portus complained that he was in financial difficulties because his boarders still owed him money. The magistrates agreed to lend him some money at a low rate of interest. Finally, when on 21 January 1572, the magistrates heard that Portus had difficulties with his salary, and that there was a danger that he could be drawn elsewhere, they agreed to give him 25 florins.⁵⁸ Thus, the magistrates were keen to retain Portus in the schola publica.

The Genevan authorities had more problems with the chair of Hebrew. Le Chevalier remained in Geneva until 1567, but particularly in the final years, he remained only reluctantly in the schola publica. On 7 July 1564, the Company of Pastors was informed that the church of Caen had sent letters requesting Le Chevalier, who was in favour of the move, particularly since he hoped to be able to reclaim some of his inheritance at the same time. The Company, however, refused to let him go because of 'the vocation which he has here', though the ministers did suggest that Le Chevalier could take a leave of absence for a few months to sort out his family affairs. Le Chevalier, in contrast, wanted nothing less than to leave Geneva permanently. In the end, the ministers decided that Le Chevalier should serve until the following Easter in spite of his protests.

Nonetheless, Le Chevalier's stated unwillingness to continue his lecturing in the schola publica did place the Genevan authorities in a difficult position: 'We do not know whether we should ask anyone to take on the duties of professor of Hebrew, since we do not know what Le Chevalier will want to do at Easter'.⁵⁹ Whether Le Chevalier's desire to leave was an authentic one, or whether he merely wished to see whether his Genevan salary would be increased if he threatened to leave is a debatable point. By 16 March 1565, as Le Chevalier continued to ask for permission to depart, the Company of Pastors intervened to ask the magistrates to raise Le Chevalier's salary, so as to induce him to stay in Geneva. The magistrates agreed, and increased Le Chevalier's yearly salary by 100 florins, bringing it to 500 florins a year. This increase was enough to persuade Le Chevalier to remain, at least

⁵⁸ RC 65, fol. 11, 18 January 1570; fol. 62, 18 April 1570; RC 67, fol. 9, 21 January 1572.

⁵⁹ RCP II, 7 July 1564, pp. 104-5.

temporarily.⁶⁰ Beza notified his correspondent Jean Mercier on 4 April 1565 that Le Chevalier intended to stay in Geneva, and thanked Mercier for his efforts to find a suitable replacement for the Hebrew professor.⁶¹ Yet Le Chevalier did not stay in Geneva for much longer, for on 13 March 1567, prior to his departure, he asked for letters of recommendation from the Small Council concerning his stay in Geneva and his Hebrew lectures. The Council agreed to his request.⁶²

Already by the end of 1566, a replacement had been found for Le Chevalier, namely Corneille Bonaventure Bertram. Bertram, from France, had studied law for 6 years in Toulouse and then in Paris for three years, in part under Mercier. Bertram had been in Geneva since 1562, when he fled France because of the wars of religion. The Genevan authorities had then employed him as a rural minister in Chancy before naming him as professor of Hebrew on 13 January 1567, a post Bertram held until 1586.

As for theology, Beza lectured every week once Calvin was unable to do so, and continued lecturing alone until 1566, when the Company of Pastors decided to find a colleague for him. On 26 April 1566, the Company noted that a fruitless search had been undertaken in France to find someone to lecture alongside Beza, although no other evidence has come to light thus far that such a search was indeed undertaken.⁶³ Beza then turned to the Company of Pastors, who nominated Jean le Gaigneux, from Tours, a minister in Geneva since 1562. Le Gaigneux, however, did not want to take on the post, and therefore the Company decided to examine two possible candidates, Le Gaigneux and his colleague in the ministry Nicolas Colladon, who had been a pastor in Geneva's rural areas since 1553, and in the city since 1560. Both men had to present a passage of Scripture, namely sections of the second chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. Both men's performance was satisfactory, so the Company decided to draw lots, and Colladon was selected.⁶⁴

Once again, the closeness between pastoral ministry and theological teaching is clear, since the Company of Pastors saw no difficulty in using one of its ministers as an assistant to Beza in the schola publica. In the realm of theology, the dividing line between preaching and official teaching was entirely dissolved, since men like Colladon could and did step from one to the other. In return for three lectures in

⁶⁰ RCP III, 16 March 1565, p. 1.

⁶¹ Aubert, Correspondance, VI, p. 61.

⁶² RC 62, fol. 22, 13 March 1567.

⁶³ RCP III, 26 April 1566, p. 8.

⁶⁴ RCP III, 26 June 1566, p.9.

theology every two weeks by 1570, Colladon received 60 florins a year on top of his ministerial salary.⁶⁵

As well as Colladon, visiting ministers, such as Hieronymus Zanchius, at the time minister in eastern Switzerland, were asked to give guest lectures during their stay in Geneva. Zanchius had lectured on the Old Testament in Strasbourg, and went on to lecture at Heidelberg and Neustadt an der Haart between 1568 and 1590. As he had had some experience of lecturing, he agreed to give a few lectures during his Genevan visit in March 1567.⁶⁶ On 28 June 1571, the Genevan ministers also asked the Small Council's permission to have Thomas Cartwright, the English theologian, give two lectures in theology a week during his period of exile in Geneva. He was called back to England in January 1572.⁶⁷ In spite of his relatively brief stay in Geneva, his lecturing assistance had been greatly appreciated, especially since Beza's other assistant, Colladon, was increasingly at odds with Beza and with the magistrates over the respective spheres of influence of Church and state. Having condemned the magistrates from the pulpit because of the interest charges put on loans, Colladon was deposed from the Genevan ministry in September 1571, and left for Heidelberg and Lausanne.⁶⁸ Cartwright's lectures thus helped to fill the gap caused by Colladon's departure.

When Cartwright himself left to return to England, Beza offered to begin lecturing once again every week. At the same time, Beza asked the Company to find someone to be his assistant, 'so that even if he [Beza] cannot lecture for some reason, the entire Academy will not be abandoned. M. Ch[arles] Perrot has been elected to do so, and it is agreed that for this reason, he will present a passage of Scripture next Friday in front of the brothers'.⁶⁹ Perrot, a former monk from Paris, had matriculated in Geneva's schola publica in 1564 and had since held pulpits in Geneva's rural parishes and in Geneva itself. Having presented successfully a passage from Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, Perrot was appointed as Beza's lecturing colleague, although Perrot did not manifest much enthusiasm for the task. On 7 March 1572, Perrot apologised for not having begun to lecture, and stated that he felt unable to do so. 'His colleagues in the Company of Pastors ignored his unwillingness, and told him to begin as soon as possible. Perrot, however, only began to lecture on 28 April 1572, commenting on Paul's Epistle to Titus. On 20 June, the Company noted that Perrot had broken off his lectures, and told him to start

⁶⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 106.

⁶⁶ RCP III, 28 March 1567, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 108.

⁶⁸ RCP III, p. VIII.

⁶⁹ RCP III, 1 February 1572, p. 51.

them again.⁷⁰ It would seem that Perrot's lecturing was intermittent, and one can wonder how much help he did in fact provide for the theology course. Overall, Beza remained the mainstay of the theology lectures, and provided continuity, both from Calvin's era to his own, and throughout the first dozen years of the schola publica's existence.

In the period 1564 to 1572, the chair of arts posed the greatest difficulties in terms of its incumbents. Henry Scrimger taught until 1564, before transferring to law and being replaced by Simon Simonius, an Italian, who lectured in arts for free during that year. In 1565, Simonius was appointed professor of arts and began to draw a salary for his lectures. However, Simonius, like Le Chevalier and Portus, suffered from financial problems, and constantly tried to claim more money on the basis of his poverty and the large size of his family. By February 1567, he was ready to hand in his resignation, and the Genevan authorities were ready to accept it. However, instead of leaving Geneva Simonius inaugurated lectures in medicine, and the salary he received for lecturing in both arts and medicine, 600 florins, seemed sufficient to enable him to manage. But by June 1567, Simonius had left Geneva under a cloud, because his irascible nature had led him to an altercation with the minister of the Genevan Italian church, Niccolo Balbani, and to his dismissal as professor.⁷¹

His successor, Job Veyrat, lectured in arts from 1567 until his death of the plague in 1571. He was the first native-born Genevan professor, and sources following Borgeaud suggest that his lectures were not of the highest calibre,⁷² as evidenced by the fact that Veyrat gave a course of lectures on Livy, an author that otherwise was studied in the second highest class of the schola privata. The registers of the Company of Pastors stated on 27 May 1569 'it would be good if in one of his courses he lectured on Livy for a while, because that would attract students, and furthermore, such lectures would be not only useful, but also necessary for the young students who have graduated recently from the top class [of the schola privata] to the public lectures'.⁷³ Two hypotheses are possible, namely that Veyrat was a low-calibre professor, and that the pupils who graduated from the schola privata were not always as well prepared as they ought to have been for the public lectures.

⁷⁰ RCP III, 8 February 1572, p. 53; 7 March 1572, p. 58; 28 April 1572, p. 70; 20 June 1572, p. 78.

⁷¹ RCP III, 20 June 1567, p. 15 and footnote.

⁷² Paul-F. Geisendorf, L'Université de Genève 1559-1959: Quatre siècles d'histoire (Geneva, 1959), p. 42.

⁷³ RCP III, 27 May 1569, p. 22.

In arts, as in theology, visiting scholars of international reputation were sometimes asked to give a series of guest lectures, although in spite of their guests' international stature, the ministers of Geneva could not always guarantee the orthodoxy of their guests' teaching. The risks inherent in special lectures were shown most clearly in 1570, when Peter Ramus, the anti-Aristotelian philosopher, visited Geneva. He arrived in April, and already in May, the registers of the Company of Pastors noted that he was to be asked by Beza and the rector, Le Gaigneux, to change his approach in his lectures. Though no more details are provided as to the source of the problem, it is thought that Ramus' anti-Aristotelian approach was disliked by the Genevan authorities, whose schola publica and arts courses in particular held Aristotle in high esteem. After suspending his lectures temporarily following Beza and Le Gaigneux's intervention, Ramus lectured on Cicero until his departure for Lausanne in June 1570.⁷⁴ Geneva's rejection of Ramus' approach contrasts with the more favourable line adopted by other academies such as Lausanne.⁷⁵ Ramus had already caused a storm of controversy on the same grounds in the university of Heidelberg,⁷⁶ so it would be unfair to criticise the Company of Pastors for too narrow a viewpoint. Nevertheless, the Genevan Academy, unburdened by the weight of previous philosophical controversies that could bog down an older institution such as Heidelberg, should perhaps have been more open to Ramus' innovative approach to Aristotle and to philosophical method.

In the years 1567 to 1572, Geneva suffered from a recurring plague epidemic which at best brought fewer foreign students to Geneva, and at worst threatened to close down the Academy permanently. Among those who left was Christopher, Count Palatine, who was removed from Geneva and its schola publica by his father Frederick III Elector Palatine because of fears of the plague in 1568.⁷⁷ In July 1569, two regents of the schola privata died of the plague. In September 1571, in a letter to Bullinger, Beza announced the Veyrat had died of the plague, that Portus was ill, as was the English theologian who had been assisting Beza, Thomas Cartwright. Beza added that the schola privata was totally disorganised and that he alone was maintaining what he could of the public lectures.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ RCP III, 31 May 1570, p. 26 and footnote.

⁷⁵ Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, p. 735.

⁷⁶ Geisendorf, L'Université de Genève, p. 43

⁷⁷ RC 63, fol. 149, 28 December 1568.

⁷⁸ Aubert, Correspondance, XII, p. 188.

During the period 1564 to 1571, the schola publica underwent several changes. Beza's interest in continuity ran parallel to the changes which he brought to the schola publica and to its range of courses in particular. While he ensured that the chairs of Hebrew, Greek, arts, and theology would be maintained, he added two chairs of law in 1566 and a chair of medicine in 1567. The reasons behind the transformation of the schola publica from a focus on ministerial training to a broader range of subjects stem both from internal and external factors. Beza himself had supported the idea of chairs in law and medicine ever since the Academy's foundation. In 1559, in his circular letter announcing the foundation of the Academy, Beza wrote, 'If, as we hope, God through His goodness ensures the success of our project, for He inspired it, we will consider completing that which is begun by adding the rest to it, that is, the teaching of law and medicine'.⁷⁹ Even at the foundation of the Academy, one influential voice at least was contemplating the future expansion of the schola publica.

That expansion, however, had to wait until after Calvin's death in 1564. Borgeaud suggested that the reasons for Calvin's lack of enthusiasm for law courses in particular in the schola publica stemmed not only from his own focus on theology and on training pastors, but also from his distrust of those in the legal profession. Calvin wrote in 1562 to Caspar Olevianus, a professor in Heidelberg, on the subject of lawyers, stating, 'if you ever have to deal with jurists, you should know that almost everywhere these people are the opponents of Christ's ministers, because they do not believe that they can hold on to their status in places where ecclesiastical authority is firmly established.'⁸⁰ These doubts about the docility of those practising law vis-a-vis church discipline led him to preserve the status quo of the schola publica during his lifetime. After Calvin's death in 1564, however, Beza became the leading figure in the Genevan church. Born ten years after Calvin, he had studied in Bourges, Orléans, and Paris. As the son of a minor nobleman, Beza had moved in higher social circles than Calvin, and it was Beza, rather than Calvin, who was the Genevan church's chief representative to the French court and to the French Reformed nobles during the early 1560s. One explanation for Beza's efforts to bring about the teaching of law in the schola publica, whereas Calvin had shown only disinterest, or even distrust in the matter may be that overall, Beza was less wary of the role of civil powers than Calvin had been. By the time Beza came to Geneva in 1558, the Genevan magistracy had been won over to Calvin's side. Beza's relations with the magistrates were less strained than Calvin's had been, and Beza considered

⁷⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 51-2.

⁸⁰ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 89.

them more as partners than as opponents. Having a more positive practical relationship with civil powers, Beza found it easier to encourage the development of civil law in the schola publica, the training which later civic leaders needed to prepare them for their careers. Indeed, it was thanks to the support and interest of the Genevan Small Council, the ruling body of magistrates in the city, that the law courses got underway in 1565.

The first law lectures in 1565 were offered voluntarily. Domaine Fabri, the procurator-general of the city, and Henry Scrimger both lectured publicly for free, the latter on the Emperor Justinian's Institutes.⁸¹ The practice of having certain people lecture for free, for a trial period, was a very common one in Geneva, as it saved having to pay another salary from the public purse. Such a scheme was used again and again, particularly when there were vacancies in the professorial ranks, or as a temporary measure when waiting for the arrival of a more renowned scholar. While Fabri and Scrimger were lecturing, efforts were being made behind the scenes to acquire professors of law from France. On 29 May 1565, Charles Perrot was asked to search for appropriate professors of law in Bourges, because he had contacts there.⁸² A year later, progress had been made, since Beza told the Small Council on 3 July 1566 that two potential professors of law were willing to come to the schola publica, namely a certain Roaldès, and Pierre Charpentier. Beza stated, 'Both men are knowledgeable, and all that remains to be done is to set a salary'. The Council minutes continued, 'M. de Bèze is ordered to write back to obtain Charpentier, to assure him of our good-will, and to do the same for Roaldès, so that we may get him if possible'.⁸³ The Small Council was considering not one, but two professors of law, and two salaries. As a further indication of the magistrates' intent, the Small Council records of 6 August 1566 noted that 'the Cardinal's Chapel in Saint Pierre has been visited, and it would be fine for the law lectures if two windows were put in. It was agreed that they should be installed'.⁸⁴ By October 1566, Charpentier had arrived, and he and Scrimger split the teaching of law between them, as Scrimger lectured on the Institutes in the morning, and Charpentier taught in the afternoons.⁸⁵ There is no information on what Charpentier taught, but he was receiving a yearly salary of between 800 and 900 florins, which was twice the yearly salary of Genevan city ministers.⁸⁶ The financial investment made by the civil authorities to ensure the

⁸¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 90.

⁸² RC 60, fol. 58, 29 May 1565.

⁸³ RC 61, fol. 58, 3 July 1566.

⁸⁴ RC 61, fol. 72, 6 August 1566.

⁸⁵ RC 61, fol. 100, 22 October 1566

⁸⁶ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 91; Roget, Peuple de Genève, VII, p. 200; Bergier, 'Salaires des Pasteurs', p. 168.

provision of law courses in the schola publica is a clear sign of the magistrates' commitment to the teaching of law.

The impetus for the teaching of law, as well as the organisational details, were all from the side of the magistrates. It may be worthwhile at this point to pause and consider the reasons for the magistrates' enthusiasm and investment in the teaching of law. Firstly, and most fundamentally, the magistrates hoped that the provision of law courses would attract students to Geneva in greater numbers. The more students there were, the more money they would spend in Geneva. Secondly, the magistrates hoped that the law courses would not only bring in more students, but also wealthier ones. In May 1618, for instance, Daniel Roset, a magistrate, suggested that 'the Academy needs a famous professor of law to attract noble students and foreign students to this city and to keep them here'.⁸⁷ Finally, the organisation of the law courses was one area in which the magistrates could have a significant impact on the affairs of the Academy, for the Company of Pastors, the other body responsible for the running of the Academy, had little interest in the law courses. Apart from Beza and Perrot, the Company of Pastors is noticeable only by its absence in the consultations and decisions taken in favour of the teaching of law. From the registers of the Company of Pastors for 1565-66, one can also gather how little importance the Company attached to the teaching of law, as there is no mention whatever during those years of the prospective chairs of law nor of possible candidates. The subject is entirely ignored, as if no changes were taking place. It may be that as law was not included among the subjects listed in the original statutes of the schola publica, the Company felt that it had no responsibility to organise such teaching and that law remained literally an extra-curricular subject in the eyes of the Company. For instance, because they were not mentioned in the statutes, the professors of law were not allowed to become members of the Company of Pastors, in contrast to their colleagues in Greek, Hebrew, and arts, who were allowed to do so. For the Company, law and the law professors remained a body apart.

But in that case, Beza's role is even more unusual, in that he appears to have decided not to consult his colleagues in the ministry about the law courses. Instead, he worked with the magistrates to ensure the provision of law in the schola publica. There is no question that Beza considered the law courses as part of the schola publica, since his letter of 1559 had spoken of law and medicine as an addition to the Academy, rather than as anything independent from it. Whether the magistrates considered the law lectures to be on the same level as those in the other four subjects is difficult to tell, but their long-term investment in the teaching of law would suggest that to them it was more than a side-line venture.

⁸⁷ RC 117, fol. 108, 1 May 1618.

By the last months of 1566, Charpentier and Scrimger were lecturing in law, although neither professor was as successful as had been hoped. Scrimger's course on the Institutes did not appeal to students, who complained about his lectures. On 9 July 1568, the Small Council was informed that 'several students dislike the law lectures and do not attend them, especially Scrimger's'.⁸⁸ By October, the Small Council had decided that there was no point in Scrimger continuing to teach, so the magistrates decided to have his friends suggest to him that he should present his resignation, instead of being made the object of a more humiliating dismissal.⁸⁹ Scrimger's departure left only Charpentier, who had his own problems. In spite of his generous salary conditions, Charpentier did not always fulfil his teaching obligations, so that on 1 October 1568, the Small Council decided to decrease his salary. Instead of the 800 to 900 florins he was receiving, Charpentier was offered 400 florins a year, plus 200 florins if he agreed to take on Scrimger's course on the Institutes.⁹⁰ The Small Council softened its attitude less than a month later, but the situation failed to improve. On 23 December 1569, the jour des censures, the day when the conduct of each regent, professor, and minister was examined by his colleagues in the Company of Pastors, Charpentier was accused of having attempted on several occasions to seduce his maid by night. This was a serious charge, particularly as it was brought by the minister of the maidservant's parish, Jean d'Espoir. Charpentier denied the charges.⁹¹ By January 1570, the Small Council was considering dismissing him, 'because of the suspicion of fornication and because he does not fulfil his teaching duties and does not lecture'.⁹² On 23 January, Charpentier appeared before the Small Council to apologise for his absences and to promise to do better, but at the same time, he complained that he could not manage on his small salary.⁹³ On 26 January, Charpentier was dismissed, and five years after it had begun, the teaching of law came to an abrupt end in Geneva.

As for the chair of medicine, its brief history was even less successful than the early years of the law lectures. The first, and only incumbent of the chair of medicine was Simon Simonius, who had previously lectured in arts. In an age where subject areas were not always clearly defined, Simonius had no difficulty in combining his lectures in both these fields. Prior to Simonius, and after him, any lectures in

⁸⁸ RC 63, fol. 76, 9 July 1568.

⁸⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 92.

⁹⁰ RCP III, 10 July 1567, p. 16 footnote; Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 92.

⁹¹ RCP III, 23 December 1569, p. 24.

⁹² RC 65, fol. 2, 2 January 1570.

⁹³ RC 65, fol. 13, 23 January 1570.

medicine were only occasional, and were given for free by visiting physicians or by the city doctors.⁹⁴ The reasons for Simonius' departure have been described above. Yet it is not clear why, in spite of the unfortunate experience the Genevan authorities had with Simonius, they did not persevere, and find a replacement for him. After all, the incumbents of the law chairs were not always a success, and yet Beza continued to support the maintenance of the chairs of law. It could be that because Beza had been trained in law rather than in medicine, his sympathies lay more with the former field. One could also suggest that the attraction of medicine, particularly for the young nobles that Geneva hoped to bring in to the schola publica, was less than that of civil law. The Small Council's financial priorities lay in the area bringing in the greater number of students, and thus the greater financial reward, namely civil law.

Between 1565 and 1572, student numbers again fluctuated considerably, showing a sharp decline in the years of the plague from 1567 onwards, so that by 1572, only 4 students matriculated in the Genevan schola publica. A total of 196 students matriculated in the space of those 8 years, a significantly lower total than that achieved during the first six years of the schola publica's operation. In spite of the drop in overall numbers, the percentage of non-French students coming to Geneva was on the increase, so that in 1568, for instance, out of the eight students who matriculated, six were from the Netherlands, whereas only one came from France. The French were also in the minority in 1569, when eight students did not indicate a place of origin, and four indicated they came from the German states, whereas only three came from France.

As for the students' later careers, the ministry still remained the most popular profession. After eliminating those whose careers were not known, those entering the ministry made up 40% of the total in 1568, 43% of the total in 1569, and 80% of the total number of students entering professions in 1570. No other single occupation attracted more students than the ministry, except in 1568, when three students inherited noble titles, while only two entered the ministry. However, the numbers involved are too small for significant conclusions to be drawn.

Because of the relatively small number of students who matriculated between 1565 and 1572, it is difficult to assess the impact of the schola publica's expansion into medicine and law on students' later professions. There does not appear to be any significant increase in the percentage of those pursuing other careers than ministry, though the continuing large numbers of those whose careers were unknown may hide some who found employment in lay, rather than ecclesiastical fields. [Graphs 3 and 4].

⁹⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 95, 101.

The period 1565 to 1572 was a difficult one for Geneva's schola publica. While Beza and the magistrates attempted to expand the range of subjects provided by the schola publica, the plague, the scarcity and poor calibre of certain professors, and the lack of agreement between the Company of Pastors and the Genevan magistrates as to the aspects of the schola publica which required most attention, hampered efforts at development. This combination of adverse factors brought the schola publica to a virtual standstill by 1572. Student numbers were falling, members of staff were killed by the plague, and the law and medicine lectures had collapsed. In such grim circumstances, the event which transformed the fortunes of the Genevan schola publica was, at least on the face of it, another disaster for the Reformed church and for Geneva, namely the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. It is fair to say that by 1565, the schola publica had shed part of its original missionary role without yet finding another as a conventional institution of higher education, for which it had as yet neither a professoriat of sufficient stature nor an established reputation in the field of higher learning. The next decades would see fitful efforts to repair these deficiencies.

Chapter IV: The Middle Years 1572-1600: Expansion

On 30 August 1572, the Company of Pastors in Geneva learned of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, which had begun on 24 August in Paris. 'Saturday 30th. We received news of the treasonous and horrible cruelty committed in France against many nobles and against all the faithful, not only in Paris but also since then in Lyon, where horrible massacres have taken place, and in all of France. Therefore, the next day at the 8 o'clock service in all the churches, we spoke of these matters in the sermons, to exhort the people to humble themselves and to pray God to have mercy on his children'.¹ In 1600, Geneva's external situation was still tense, as the Duke of Savoy continued to try to win back Geneva, by the conversion of surrounding areas to Catholicism if necessary.² Thus, the beginning and end of these thirty years showed Geneva under threat, affected by events which put a strain on the city and on its budget. These events did not leave the Academy unscathed.

During this period, the Academy went through times of prosperity and times of slump. Because the fortunes of the Academy were so closely tied to those of the city, the Academy profited when the city gained in funds or in people, but had no way of limiting the damage or of protecting itself when periods of financial hardship occurred. Though the schola publica in particular was given a purpose and goals, which broadened again during these thirty years, it could be side-tracked from these goals or stopped altogether because of a greater crisis which engulfed Geneva. Hence, circumstances at times played a greater role in the Genevan schola publica's development than did the aims of those who ran it.

The period 1572 to 1600 was one of consolidation and continuity for the schola publica, in that some of the greatest European scholars came to lecture in it. At the same time, towards the end of these thirty years, the Academy's fortunes were declining, mainly, as has been noted, because of external circumstances. It is this conflict, between efforts designed to enhance and preserve the schola publica's role, and events which threatened the schola publica's survival, which forms the basis of the following chapter.

I: 1572-1586

The St Bartholomew's Day massacre in August 1572 was a catastrophe for French Protestantism if only because of the number of those lost to the French Reformed church, either permanently through their death or more temporarily

¹ RCP III, 30 August 1572, p. 86.

² RCP VIII, p. vii.

through their abjuration or exile. While the French Reformed church came under attack, other Reformed areas received French refugees. Geneva was no exception and the sheer number of those flowing in and their lack of resources placed a heavy strain on the Genevan charitable service. Those fleeing France included ministers, whose more prominent role in their communities made them more vulnerable to attack than lay-people. The Genevan Company of Pastors allowed the exiled clergy to use the money 'which had been given for poor students, to support the most needy ministers, asking [the French ministers] to receive the money and distribute it privately among themselves'.³ However, the number of ministers and their needs were so great that the funds did not last long. By 27 February 1573, the Company of Pastors warned their French colleagues that the funds the exiled ministers had been using were running short. The Company's advice was 'that those among them who could do so should take up some form of work to earn a living'.⁴ Though in the short-term Geneva did welcome those fleeing France, their upkeep proved difficult over a longer period. Some of those who came to Geneva, however, were men whom the Genevan authorities could and did put to use, particularly in order to fill some of the schola publica's chairs, vacant since the five-year plague epidemic of 1567-72.

One of the new professors was Joseph-Juste Scaliger, a philologist, linguist, and humanist, who had studied arts in Paris and law in Valence. Hearing about the St Bartholomew's Day massacre when he was in Strasbourg, he headed for Geneva, and was received there as habitant on 8 September 1572.⁵ On 13 October 1572, the ministers received permission from the magistrates to select a candidate for the chair of arts, which had stood vacant since Veyrat's death in September 1571.⁶ On 21 October, Scaliger began to lecture and on 31 October, the Company of Pastors elected him as professor of arts, presenting him to the magistrates for their approval on 3 November 1572.⁷ He began lecturing on Cicero and on Aristotle's Organon, though it is thought that he spent more time on the philological aspect of the texts than on their philosophical content.⁸ Scaliger had a high reputation as a scholar, particularly of Antiquity, publishing the works of Varro in Geneva in 1573, a collection of his father's poems and his own translation of Sophocles' Ajax in 1574, and the works of

³ RCP III, 15 September 1572, p. 88.

⁴ RCP III, 27 February 1573, p. 102.

⁵ Geisendorf, L'Université de Genève, p. 48.

⁶ RCP III, 13 October 1572, p. 91.

⁷ RCP III, 31 October 1572, p. 93; 3 November 1572, p. 94.

⁸ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 133.

Flacus and Festus in 1575, after his departure from Geneva.⁹ His main interest lay in scholarly research rather than in teaching, as can be seen by his later appointment to a post in Leiden university in 1593, without any obligation to lecture.

In September 1574, Scaliger asked the Small Council for leave to travel briefly to Lyon, to deal with his family's affairs. By 19 September, Scaliger had returned to Geneva and explained to the Company of Pastors that following his mother's death his affairs were in such a state that he requested to be allowed to resign from lecturing in arts in Geneva's schola publica. Both the Company of Pastors and the Council agreed to his request without protest.¹⁰ In view of Scaliger's scholarly reputation, the Genevan authorities' calm acceptance of his departure after less than two years' service may seem somewhat surprising. However, the Small Council records of 20 September 1574 noted that Scaliger had been given permission to leave 'on the advice of the ministers. They have in hand another man who has served in Orléans, Montargis, and La Rochelle, a talented man who knows the three languages [Latin, Greek, and Hebrew], who is faithful and hard-working, and who wishes to come and live here with his family'.¹¹ In other words, Scaliger's departure was not such a blow to the schola publica in the eyes of the magistrates and ministers, because they already had a successor in mind. Nonetheless, Scaliger's departure after less than two years shows graphically what problems the Company of Pastors and the Small Council faced in retaining professors for the schola publica. Non-Genevan professors were a double-edged sword. Although in most instances they were men of high calibre, who helped to put the Genevan Academy on the educational map of Europe, their loyalties, families, and better opportunities often lay elsewhere.

Scaliger's successor was yet another Frenchman, Matthieu Béroald, the prospective successor to Baduel in arts in the 1560s. Béroald had taught Hebrew in the university of Orléans, and had been principal of the Collège de Montargis. He accepted the Genevan offer of the chair of arts in the schola publica and arrived in Geneva on 11 November 1574, beginning his lectures on Aristotle's Organon and on Sacro Bosco's treatise On The Sphere on 6 December 1574.¹² Béroald's main interest lay in the study of chronology. In 1575, he published a Chronology based on the authority of Holy Scripture,¹³ indicating how much he favoured research more closely linked to theology than to arts. In spite of his annual salary of 500 florins,

⁹ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, pp. 79-80, 82, 85.

¹⁰ RCP III, 11 September 1574, p. 143; 19 September 1574, p. 144 and footnote.

¹¹ RCP III, p. 144 footnote.

¹² RCP III, p. 144 footnote.

¹³ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, p. 83.

Béroald had to appeal to the Small Council on certain occasions for financial assistance. On 16 December 1574, he notified the magistrates that he was having difficulties making ends meet. The Small Council granted him 100 florins, and told him he would receive his next quarter's salary in advance.¹⁴ On 1 September 1575, Béroald was having trouble supporting his large family. In response, the Small Council granted him 50 florins.¹⁵

In spite of the magistrates' financial support, Béroald did not hold his chair of arts for long, for on 15 July 1576, he died, as a result of an operation to remove kidney stones. Apart from losing 'a man of singular and profound piety and learning'¹⁶, Béroald's sudden death was a blow to the schola publica, chiefly because no immediate successor was at hand.

As an interim measure, the Company of Pastors decided to name Antoine de La Faye, who had been in Geneva since 1561, as professor of arts. La Faye, a Frenchman, had gone to Italy in 1574 to take a degree in medicine, and upon his return in 1575 had been appointed principal of the schola privata.¹⁷ As in the case of Job Veyrat, the task of lecturing in arts seemed to have been somewhat beyond La Faye's capacities, since on 18 June 1577, La Faye was authorised to lecture on Cicero 'to increase the knowledge of Latin in the children who have recently left the collège, and who have not yet had any practice in Latin in the public lectures'.¹⁸ As Cicero was usually studied in the schola privata, his introduction in the schola publica's curriculum could indicate, as Borgeaud suggested, that La Faye wanted to spend as little time as possible on his lectures. Equally, it may be true that La Faye's abilities did not stretch much further than that, particularly as he had only been a regent previously, or that the level of studies in the schola privata had dropped significantly, making it necessary to lecture in the schola publica on subjects which otherwise were in the lower school's domain.¹⁹

La Faye's tenure of the arts chair, until 1580, seems to have been more a cause of conflict, both within the Company of Pastors and between the Company and the Small Council, than a success. The Company of Pastors suspected that La Faye had only agreed to take on the arts lectures because he wanted the arts professor's lodgings, to add to the lodgings he already occupied as principal of the schola privata.²⁰ When in September 1576 the ministers tried to prevent La Faye's plurality

¹⁴ RC 69, fol. 209, 16 December 1574.

¹⁵ RC 70, fol. 144, 1 September 1575.

¹⁶ RCP IV, 15 July 1576, p. 61.

¹⁷ RCP III, August 1574, pp. 140-1, footnote.

¹⁸ RCP IV, 18 June 1577, pp. 87-8.

¹⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 182.

²⁰ RCP IV, 14 September 1576, p. 69.

by electing another principal, Lambert Daneau, and another professor of arts, namely Julius Pacius, the Small Council blocked the Company's moves. According to the registers of the Company of Pastors, the Small Council stated, 'That M. Pacius should remain professor of law, a role which he fulfils to the satisfaction and good of everyone'. As for the possibility of removing La Faye from his two posts, the magistrates stated, 'that we should not get rid of M. de La Faye entirely, but that we should employ him as we are doing at present, and that we should bear with the situation until some other solution is found'.²¹ La Faye continued to make life difficult for the Company of Pastors, particularly through his refusal to conform to the curriculum assigned to him. On 20 November 1577, the Company told La Faye that he was to lecture on Aristotle, not on Alcinous, as he had been doing. However, as the Company remarked in its registers, 'This, too, has had no effect'.²²

Thus, while the chair of arts was occupied between 1576 and 1580, its incumbent was not all that the Company of Pastors had hoped for. By 3 October 1580, however, the Company announced to the Small Council that they had found a successor to La Faye, who had become a minister in Geneva in February of the same year. The successor was a Scot, Alexander Bryson, from Edinburgh. He was received as professor of arts on 11 October 1580.²³ By 16 March 1582, however, Bryson had resigned and returned to Scotland. His departure was caused by the storm of disapproval raised by his plan to marry the widowed mother of a young woman, Marie Anastaize, after Marie, his original fiancée, died of illness before their wedding. Even though Beza and the minister and rector Antoine Chauve approved of Bryson's wish to marry the mother after his young fiancée's death, the Consistory and the Small Council declared that according to the Genevan ordinances, no one was allowed to marry the mother of his deceased fiancée. Presenting his resignation, Bryson explained, 'since Messieurs have forbidden him to pursue his planned marriage with Catherine Estienne and to spend time with her, he knows that because he will always feel his disappointment and see the object of his affections in Geneva, it will be impossible for him to have the necessary serenity to fulfil his duties, which would be bad for him and for the school'.²⁴ Bryson was released by the Small Council and also received an attestation from the magistrates concerning the facts surrounding his unsuccessful marriage plans.²⁵

²¹ RCP IV, 14 September 1576, pp. 69-70.

²² RCP IV, 20 November 1577, p. 103.

²³ RCP IV, 11 October 1580, p. 173.

²⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 184-7.

²⁵ RCP IV, 16 March 1582, p. 209.

After Bryson's departure, the chair of arts was occupied temporarily by Julius Pacius, one of the professors of law, who had already been considered for the post by the Company of Pastors during La Faye's tenure. On 26 March 1582, Pacius proposed to the magistrates that he would give his 3 hours of law a week, but would also provide 5 hours a week of philosophy and logic in return for a higher salary. The magistrates agreed to his proposal and gave him 300 florins on top of his salary as law professor, bringing it to 900 florins for that year.²⁶ Pacius' interest in philosophy is also evidenced by his edition of Aristotle's Organon, which was printed in Geneva in 1584.²⁷

Whether because of the expense that Pacius' double load entailed for the Genevan treasury, or whether the Genevan civil authorities preferred to have Pacius devote his entire attention to the teaching of law, by 1583, Pacius' interim lecturing came to an end as he was replaced by a Spanish scholar, Pierre Galez. Galez had fled Italy where he had been interrogated by the Inquisition as a heretic. On 18 February 1583, the Small Council agreed to employ Galez on the ministers' recommendation, offering him 500 florins and 20 measures of wheat a year. Pacius, meanwhile, was to finish his lectures in logic.²⁸ By 11 March 1583, the ministers reported to the Small Council that Pacius had abandoned his logic lectures since Galez's nomination. In response, the magistrates agreed to the ministers' proposition to reduce Pacius' 100 florin salary for his logic lectures by half, and to give that amount of 50 florins to Galez.²⁹

Nothing much is known about Galez's lectures, nor about his scholarly interests, since he did not publish any works during his Genevan stay. The registers of the Company of Pastors only noted that on 10 June 1586, Galez asked to be allowed to diminish the number of philosophy lectures which he had to give each week, 'for the good of the school'.³⁰ Galez's attempt to give fewer lectures can be linked to the rapid drop in student numbers in 1586 because of the blockade undertaken by the Duke of Savoy. Yet the Company of Pastors refused to diminish the number of courses on offer.

Galez's colleague in Hebrew, Corneille Bertram, had a long history of teaching in the schola publica, for by 1586, he had held the chair of Hebrew for nineteen years. The evolution of the chair of Hebrew between 1572 and 1586 was much less disjointed than that of the chair of arts, simply because Hebrew was taught by the

²⁶ RC 77, fol. 55, 26 March 1582.

²⁷ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, p. 109.

²⁸ RCP V, 18 February 1583, p. 6.

²⁹ RCP V, 11 March 1583, p. 8.

³⁰ RCP V, 10 June 1586, p. 124.

same professor throughout the entire period. Bertram helped to maintain the high level of Hebrew studies, both through his lectures and through his scholarly work. In 1574, he published two works, one comparison of Hebrew and Aramaic grammar, and one work on Jewish ecclesiastical and civic polity. In 1580, the latter work went into a second edition.³¹ Bertram dedicated the work to Beza, and in his dedicatory letter, he noted that a study of Jewish political and religious organisation was vital because of its relevance to contemporary questions of ecclesiastical discipline.³²

Apart from his personal scholarly work, Bertram's chief contribution to Genevan learning was his participation in the Genevan Bible project. He was called upon as expert in Hebrew for the Old Testament, and he also organised the provision of woodcuts for the illustrations.³³ In spite of his abilities in Hebrew, Bertram also faced dwindling numbers of students at his lectures once the Savoy blockade had been imposed in 1586.

When Bertram began lecturing in Hebrew in 1567, his Greek colleague, François Portus, had already been lecturing for 6 years, and remained in Geneva as professor of Greek until his death in 1581. Although during his lifetime he only published a few editions, namely of Homer and of rhetorical works by Aphthonius, Hermogenes, and Dionysius Longinus and a translation of the hymns of Synesius of Cyrenia,³⁴ his major literary production was published posthumously by his son, Emile Portus. Borgeaud suggested that the posthumous publications were drawn from François Portus' lectures, and thus concluded that the level of instruction in Greek in the schola publica was quite high.³⁵ Portus' posthumous works include a collaborative Greek-Latin lexicon, published in 1592, commentaries on Pindar, brought out in 1583, a work gathering together the introductions to all of Sophocles' plays, published in 1584, and commentaries on Xenophon in 1586.³⁶ There is little evidence, however, as to the content of his lectures, though on 16 August 1577, the Genevan students at the schola publica were told to attend Portus' lectures, to interpret the texts assigned to them, and to participate in oral interpretation exercises to show what they had learned.³⁷

Portus' death in June 1581 led the Company of Pastors to seek a successor as professor of Greek. Their first choice was Eléazar Perraud, from Lausanne, but he accepted instead a post as regent of the highest class in the schola privata.

³¹ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, pp. 80, 96.

³² Aubert, Correspondance, XV, p. 47.

³³ RCP V, 19 February 1585, p. 58 footnote; 1 July 1586, p. 126.

³⁴ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, pp. 69-70, 98.

³⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 76-7.

³⁶ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, pp. 133, 108, 111, 118.

³⁷ RCP IV, 16 August 1577, p. 92.

Eventually, on 5 June 1582, Isaac Casaubon, a native Genevan, was appointed as professor of Greek. However, in the year from June 1581 until June 1582, the chair of Greek had to be filled. A letter from the Company of Pastors to the Classis of Lausanne on 18 July 1581 indicates that the Company had filled the vacancy in Greek by using one of its own members as a temporary replacement.³⁸ Although there is no firm evidence, one possible contender is Jean-Baptiste Rotan, from Padua, who had been in Geneva as a minister since 1576. He was often called upon to replace professors in the *schola publica* when the latter were away dealing with their private affairs in France. He replaced both Lambert Daneau in theology for six weeks beginning on 23 April 1578, and François Portus in Greek for a few days in the same month. On 23 January 1581, Rotan was asked to lecture in the place of Corneille Bertram in Hebrew until Easter of that year.³⁹ Rotan's versatility was such that he may have been asked to lecture in Greek in the *schola publica* after Portus' death, until a more permanent solution could be found.⁴⁰

On 5 June 1582, Isaac Casaubon, who had seemingly studied in Geneva under François Portus⁴¹, (although his name does not appear on the Genevan Academy's matriculation list), was presented to the Small Council for approval as professor of Greek. Born in 1559, Casaubon was thus only 23 at the time of his appointment. His teaching and research career up until the crisis of 1586 appears to have been uneventful. In 1583, he published in Geneva a commentary on Diogenes Laertes, and in 1584, he put out a collection of classical poetry which had been printed first in 1574, and which was itself based on a 1569 work by Jean Crespin.⁴² The only mention of Casaubon in the registers of the Company of Pastors and of the Small Council appeared in March 1583, when he asked for and received permission to make a trip to France, presumably on family business, and in May 1585, when Casaubon requested to be allowed to move out of his flat temporarily because of his grief over his wife's death, and to stay with Denis Godefroy, one of the professors of law in the *schola publica*.⁴³ In 1586, Casaubon too felt the effects of the Savoy blockade, as the number of students in his classes diminished as well.⁴⁴

The one subject which remained relatively unaffected by this crisis was theology, for in 1586, both its professors were also ministers, and received little if any

³⁸ *RCP* IV, the Company of Pastors to the Classis of Lausanne, 18 July 1581, p. 403.

³⁹ *RCP* IV, 23 April 1578, p. 113; 23 January 1581, p. 177.

⁴⁰ The editors of the *RCP* suggest that Rotan was Portus' temporary replacement, *RCP* IV, p. 404 footnote.

⁴¹ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 210.

⁴² Chaix, *Les Livres imprimés*, pp. 106, 110.

⁴³ *RCP* V, 5 March 1583, p. 8; 31 May 1585, p. 75.

⁴⁴ RC 80, fol. 160, 22 November 1585.

financial remuneration for their theology lectures. Consequently, there was no financial advantage for the magistrates to dismiss the professors of theology.

Between 1576 and 1581, however, one man, Lambert Daneau had been appointed as professor of theology alone, without holding any ministerial post. Daneau had arrived in Geneva in 1572 with the wave of exiles fleeing the St Bartholomew's Day massacre. He was received as an habitant in Geneva on 29 September 1572.⁴⁵ Daneau was already known to some of the Genevan ministers, since according to his own account he had been a student in the schola publica in Geneva in 1560. As the Company of Pastors already knew Daneau, and as he had gained experience as a parish minister in France, in Gien from 1560 to 1572, the Company's rapid move to install Daneau in a Genevan parish is not surprising. Already on 11 October 1572, he was examined by the Company of Pastors on Paul's first Epistle to Timothy. Having met with the Company's approval, he was placed in the rural parish of Vandoeuvres. 'Since they [the ministers] hoped that Daneau could serve by lecturing in theology in this Academy, it would be best to place him in the parish closest to the city, namely Vandoeuvres, so that he will be able to come in more easily when required'.⁴⁶ Daneau's appointment fitted in with the customary role of theology professors, who had a parish and ministerial responsibilities as well as their lecturing duties to fulfil. Daneau's status within the schola publica and thus in the Company of Pastors rose as he began to lecture, for in December 1572, two months after his appointment, the rural ministers asked that Daneau be permitted to sit at the head of the rural ministers in the weekly sessions of the Company, rather than at the foot, as he should have done as the most recent arrival. The rural ministers made their proposal 'because of various talents which God has given him and because he is giving some theology lectures in the Academy'.⁴⁷ In spite of the lack of remuneration involved, Daneau's lectures in theology served to increase his status among his colleagues in the ministry, indicating perhaps something of the importance of theological learning in the eyes of parish ministers.

On 25 June 1574, 'because of his role in the teaching of theology, in which he can assist the Academy more than anyone else in the Company', Daneau was moved from Vandoeuvres to a city parish, namely Saint Pierre, on the death of Gilles Chausse, the previous minister.⁴⁸ Once again, the importance of Daneau for the teaching of theology is evidenced by his move to a city parish, ahead of another rural minister who appeared to have at least equal rights to the promotion to a city parish,

⁴⁵ RCP III, 10 October 1572, p. 90 footnote.

⁴⁶ RCP III, 11 October 1572, p. 90.

⁴⁷ RCP III, December 1572, p. 98.

⁴⁸ RCP III, 25 June 1574, p. 138.

Jean Jacquemot. The validity of Jacquemot's claim to a city parish was even acknowledged by the Company, who noted that Jacquemot would otherwise have made a better city minister, but urged him to be patient and to prepare himself for the next opportunity.⁴⁹

Daneau's move to the city, intended to make it easier for him to teach, did not resolve all the difficulties, as Daneau was in poor health, and found the combination of lecturing and preaching too much to bear. He complained to the Company of Pastors about the strain on his health in April 1575, April 1576, and July 1576.⁵⁰ Daneau's bad health was such that when his church of Gien wrote to recall him in July 1576, the Small Council was ready to release him, given that neither his body nor his voice was strong enough for the task in Geneva. Daneau, however, preferred to remain in Geneva.⁵¹ By 3 August 1576, the Company decided to alleviate the problem by discharging him from the ministry and appointing him as professor of theology alone: 'Given that he is thought to be useful to this church through his theology lectures, Messieurs will be asked to provide him with wages for his lecturing, so that he will remain here'.⁵²

Thus, Daneau became the first professor of theology in the Genevan schola publica not to be a practising minister at the same time. This innovation had implications for the teaching of theology in the schola publica. On the one hand, Daneau's appointment as professor of theology alone severed some of the links between the teaching of theology and the practical ministry, although Daneau's own experience of the practical ministry would in all likelihood not be forgotten. At the same time the break between theology and ministry as shown in Daneau's case could lead to theology becoming a more scholarly, more academic subject. However, Daneau was not entirely divorced from the ministry, since he still preached occasionally, particularly as a replacement for absent colleagues.⁵³

Because he was not tied to a parish, and remained only the second, assistant professor of theology alongside Beza, Daneau was also at greater liberty both to consider and to be considered for posts elsewhere. For instance, on 18 May 1579, the ministers informed the magistrates that the university of Leiden had been searching unsuccessfully for a professor of theology, and that the Genevan ministers, 'touched

⁴⁹ RCP III, 25 June 1574, p. 138.

⁵⁰ RCP IV 1 April 1575, p. 6; 13 April 1576, pp. 47-8; 6 July 1576, pp. 59-60.

⁵¹ RC 71, fol. 90, 2 July 1576.

⁵² RCP IV, 31 August 1576, p. 66. Daneau eventually received 400 florins a year: Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 227.

⁵³ RCP IV, December 1576, p. 76.

by the situation of the churches in Holland', suggested that Daneau be sent. On the grounds that Geneva's need was greater, the magistrates refused.⁵⁴

When the Leiden authorities asked again for Daneau to fill their chair of theology in December 1580, the Company of Pastors and the Small Council of Geneva agreed to release him. The appeal of Leiden for Daneau was not surprising, given that he would hold a chair of theology, rather than merely lecturing every two weeks as Beza's colleague. Yet the reasons behind the Genevan authorities' release of Daneau are not quite as clear. Daneau's own interest in going to Leiden may have been the deciding factor. His literary production during his Genevan stay was impressive. Though other works of his were published in Geneva during his lifetime, those listed below show how prolific and how eclectic a scholar Daneau was.⁵⁵

On 10 February 1581, Daneau left for Leiden. His replacement was Antoine de La Faye, who had already taught in the schola publica as professor of arts. In terms of longevity at least, La Faye's tenure as professor of theology was successful, since he remained professor of theology for nearly thirty years, until 1610. The first official mention of La Faye as professor of theology is on 15 October 1583, when the registers of the Small Council noted, 'Having conferred with M. de Bèze about M. de La Faye's request to be paid for his theology lectures, which he gives alongside M. de Bèze, it is agreed to give him 100 florins as back salary, and that in future his salary will rise by 100 florins each year he lectures'.⁵⁶ La Faye's mediocre salary level as compared with Daneau's 400 florin salary even in 1576, was due to La Faye returning to the more traditional model of a minister, whose duties included lecturing in

⁵⁴ RCP IV, 18 May 1579, p. 146.

⁵⁵ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, pp. 78, 81, 83, 85, 86, 89, 91, 94, 97. In 1573, Daneau published a work on heretics, in 1574, a treatise on games of chance and a dialogue on witchcraft, in 1575, a commentary on Augustine's Enchiridion, followed by a commentary on Augustine's On heresies in 1576. In the same year, Daneau published in Geneva a work on the articles of the Lord's Supper, one about physics, a treatise concerning the Antichrist and one on the cases in which a Christian can lawfully bear weapons. This last work was a polemic in response to Pierre Charpentier. In 1577, Daneau brought out his work concerning Christian ethics, in three volumes, and two biblical commentaries, on Paul's Epistle to Philemon and on his first Epistle to Timothy. In 1578, he brought out two polemical works as well as a book of commentaries on the Minor Prophets, and a further commentary on Augustine. In 1579, he published a response to Nicolas Selnecker, a work on the use of Scripture in public lectures or debates, a treatise about Christian friendship, and a treatise against dancing. In 1580, Daneau published two works against Osiander, the Lutheran theologian, a book of geography, a synopsis of Peter Lombard's Sentences, and a treatise concerning fashion and clothing.

⁵⁶ RCP V, 15 October 1583, p. 21, Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 233.

theology, rather than being professor of theology alone. The Small Council saved money by appointing La Faye as Daneau's replacement, and indeed, the financial savings, as well as Daneau's uncertain health, may have been contributory factors in the Small Council's decision to release Daneau for Leiden.

In intellectual terms, Daneau outweighed La Faye by far, so that one can wonder whether the decision taken by the ministers and magistrates to let Daneau go was the best one for the schola publica. Between 1581 and 1586, La Faye only published two works in Geneva, a translation of Livy's Roman history in 1582, and in 1586 a volume of theological theses defended by the schola publica's students under the direction of Beza and La Faye.⁵⁷

Professors had been found for the chairs of arts, Hebrew, Greek and theology, and indeed, after 1572, the Genevan schola publica was able to take advantage of the presence of French exiles to fill its vacant chairs. These professors, such as Scaliger, Bertram, and Daneau, contributed greatly to the schola publica's reputation and helped to increase its drawing power. The magistrates and ministers did their part by providing salaries and conditions of employment which were enough to retain them in Geneva's service, at least for a while. However, the Genevan authorities' provision of teaching staff for the schola publica was ultimately dependent on the professors available and interested in coming to Geneva. In a sense, therefore, the presence of Scaliger, Daneau and others in the schola publica was not so much the result of planning on the part of the Genevan authorities as their ad hoc use of the human resources available to them at different times.

The disciplinary and financial problems posed by the law lecturers, especially Charpentier, had done nothing to increase the good-will of the Company of Pastors towards the teaching of law, particularly since Charpentier returned to France and Catholicism after leaving Geneva, and wrote a pamphlet in 1572 blaming the Genevan church for the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre.⁵⁸

Although the Genevans were outraged at Charpentier's attack, and horrified at the news of the French killings, the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre did have some compensations, as a number of potential professors of law fled to Geneva for safety. Two of the French exiles, Hugues Doneau and François Hotman were asked to give free law lectures beginning in October 1572. It was the Company of Pastors

⁵⁷ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, pp. 105, 118.

⁵⁸ RCP III, 6 February 1573, p. 101, footnote. Charpentier's pamphlet was Lettre adressée à François Portes, Candiois, par laquelle il monstre que les persecutions des Eglises de France sont advenues, non par la faute de ceux qui faisoient profession de la Religion, mais de ceux qui nourrissoient les factions et conspirations qu'on appelle la cause.

who proposed the idea of the free lectures in law to the magistrates on 13 October 1572: 'the magistrates should let it be known that they would appreciate it if some well-known people famous for teaching law would give some lectures. It would be a bonus for the Academy to enjoy while waiting for God's future gifts'.⁵⁹ While it is unusual to find the ministers proposing lectures in law, their suggestion did not give to the prospective law lectures any sense of permanence, let alone a firm financial foundation. The advantage of free lectures in the eyes of the Company of Pastors was undoubtedly that no formal ties were established between the law professors and the schola publica. Since no salary was provided, the scheme lasted only as long as Hotman and Doneau were willing to teach for free.

Hotman and Doneau agreed to do some lecturing at no cost, but those who supported the idea of law courses beyond a series of free lectures were aware of the precariousness of the situation. By 19 January 1573, Doneau had accepted a post as professor of law in Heidelberg and subsequently left Geneva.⁶⁰ In order to retain Hotman and to replace Doneau, the Small Council considered providing salaries for two professors of law. The proposed replacement for Doneau was another French jurist who had sought refuge in Geneva, Ennemond de Bonnefoy. The Council records on 16 February 1573 stated, 'the said Bonnefoy is an excellent law professor, and if we can keep him here for a small salary along with M. Hotman who lives here, we could attract a lot of students, something which many, including the ministers, hope for. It is agreed that we should try to keep both of them, provided that they are willing to serve here permanently'.⁶¹ Before coming to a firm decision on the matter, however, the Small Council asked Beza to consult with his colleagues in the Company of Pastors about the proposed hiring of Bonnefoy. Although the Company of Pastors had supported the idea of law professors lecturing for free, they did not take kindly to the idea of salaried professors of law, remembering their experiences with Charpentier. 'Next Monday Messieurs will be told by M. de Bèze and M. Ch. Perrot that the Company would prefer there not to be any [law courses] because the teaching of law does not conform to our set-up and practices, as we have seen already once before. The general state of affairs has also not improved so much that we should expect a better result than last time. Also, Monsieur de Bonnefoy will not be able to do much on his own, and we would look even more foolish if we were duped for the second time or if things do not turn out well.'⁶²

⁵⁹ RCP III, 13 October 1572, p. 91.

⁶⁰ RC 68, fol. 15, 19 January 1573.

⁶¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 126.

⁶² RCP III, 27 February 1573, pp. 101-2.

The divergence of views between magistrates and ministers is clear. The magistrates' chief interest lay in attracting more students to Geneva, an aim which the magistrates believed the ministers shared. In contrast, the latter expressed serious doubts about the feasibility and advisability of a chair of law, largely because of their unfortunate past experience. It seems that the Company of Pastors also shared Calvin's distrust of those who practised, taught and studied law, for when Beza and Perrot duly appeared before the magistrates to explain the ministers' opposition to the idea, the Council records provided the following entry, 'Messieurs de Bèze and Perrot, ministers of the Word of God, appeared and thanked Messieurs for their zeal for the progress of God's glory and of this Academy, and especially for the establishment and development of law studies, a project which had been undertaken before. Having proposed the Council's project to the Company, though it seems that the city would gain by the scheme, the ministers did note some problems. If we establish law studies here, all the other subject areas will be cast into shadow, as is the case in other universities. Furthermore, those who study law are for the most part ill-disciplined, being people of status and nobility who will not follow readily the ordinances and discipline of this church. It will also be very expensive, for a single professor will not suffice. For these reasons, the ministers are unsure about this matter, and leave it to Messieurs to take the best decision.'⁶³ A comparison of the views of the Company of Pastors as recorded in its registers and the views of the Company as transmitted by Beza and Perrot to the magistrates shows that a change has taken place. Whereas the Company of Pastors had responded negatively to the idea of a chair of law, Beza and Perrot indicated that while the ministers had concerns about the proposed chair of law, they were willing to let the magistrates take the ultimate decision in the matter. In other words, in his role as spokesman for the ministers, Beza toned down his colleagues' opposition to the magistrates' plans. Not surprisingly since the decision was left to them, the magistrates moved quickly to ensure a salary for Bonnefoy, offering him 600 florins a year, 100 florins more than the contemporary average salary of a minister in the city of Geneva, but still 100 florins less than Beza, the chief minister, was receiving.⁶⁴

On 14 May 1573, Hotman and Bonnefoy accepted a three-year contract with the magistrates. Hotman was to get 800 florins annually for two lectures a week, and Bonnefoy 700 florins annually for three lectures a week. Hotman's higher salary for less work was probably due to his seniority over Bonnefoy and to his immense scholarly reputation. Both men were also allowed to give private lectures, charging a

⁶³ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, pp. 126-7.

⁶⁴ Bergier, 'Salaires des Pasteurs', p. 168.

fee per interested student per lecture.⁶⁵ On 24 May 1573, Hotman and Bonnefoy began lecturing, the first on Justinian's Code and the second on Justinian's Pandects.⁶⁶ On 6 August 1573, thesis disputations in law were set up so that the students could put into practice what they had learned.⁶⁷ The magistrates and those ministers who supported the creation of the chairs of law had reached their goal and had acquired professors who surpassed Scrimger and Charpentier by far. Quantifying the appeal of Hotman and Bonnefoy is made difficult by the lack of matriculation information for the years in which the two men lectured in Geneva. In order to retain the two French jurists, however, the magistrates had paid a financial price which had to be added to the budget of the city. That financial outlay did not guarantee the permanence of the law courses, since unexpected events or better offers from elsewhere could lead to vacancies in Geneva's chairs of law.

On 10 February 1574, Bonnefoy died.⁶⁸ He had taught in Geneva for a total of only nine months. His colleague Hotman volunteered on the following day to take on Bonnefoy's courses, at least until a replacement could be found. He also asked to be given Bonnefoy's salary. Instead, the magistrates decided to pay him 100 florins a month on top of his regular salary for taking on both course-loads.⁶⁹ It is clear that the magistrates intended to replace Bonnefoy as soon as possible, for the financial arrangement which they worked out with Hotman would at length have cost them more than Bonnefoy's original yearly salary of 700 florins. But even with the financial incentive he had been given, Hotman soon found that he was carrying too great a workload for too little money, and opened negotiations with the Genevan magistrates to try to arrive at a mutually acceptable compromise. By 13 April of the same year, Hotman and the magistrates agreed that he would give only 3 lectures a week: two in his area, and one in Bonnefoy's. In exchange, the magistrates agreed to pay him a third of Bonnefoy's salary, as well as his own.⁷⁰ Their decision meant that the number of law lectures in the schola publica dropped from 5 to 3 a week. Further disruptions to the law courses occurred in the summer of 1574 because of the plague. On 22 June, Hotman asked the magistrates' permission to leave the city and retreat to the safer countryside. He offered nonetheless to continue his lectures in the countryside for any students who wished to go with him.⁷¹ The problem with

⁶⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 128.

⁶⁶ RCP III, 24 May 1573, p. 106.

⁶⁷ RCP III, 6 August 1573, p. 110.

⁶⁸ RCP III, 10 February 1574, p. 132.

⁶⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 277.

⁷⁰ RC 69, fol. 165, 13 April 1574.

⁷¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 278.

Hotman's suggestion was that his oath as professor forbade him to leave the city, since leaving one's city in times of common danger was desertion, a punishable offence. However, Hotman added that if the magistrates would release him from his oath of service, he would not hold them to their side of the three-year contract. The magistrates, having considered his offer, replied, 'Considering on the one hand the minimal progress which the teaching [of law] has made in this city and the expense of it, and other factors, but on the other hand the reputation of this city, which could be affected if we let him go before the agreed-upon time, and that God might pour greater blessings on the teaching of law in the future than in the past, it is agreed that we will let him choose to go or to stay in our service, so long as he makes a rapid decision.'⁷² The magistrates felt that the teaching of law was making little progress, not surprisingly given the drop in the number of lectures on offer and the presence of the plague. The ministers' viewpoint on the crisis in law is not known, since apart from the mention of Bonnefoy's death, the vicissitudes of the law chairs do not appear at all in the Company's registers for 1574. Hotman remained in Geneva until 1578, when he moved from Geneva to Basle, again because of an outbreak of plague.⁷³

The chairs of law did not become vacant on his departure, for already in 1575, Hotman had been given a colleague, the Italian Julius Pacius, who had studied in Padua. At first, as ever, Pacius lectured on the *Institutes* for free, but by 27 April 1576, he was granted a yearly salary of 400 florins, in exchange for his lectures on the *Institutes* of the emperor Justinian. By 1577, his salary had risen to 600 florins.⁷⁴ In 1579, however, his relations with the Small Council soured, as he wanted to be given larger lodgings to house student boarders. The money received from student boarders was one of the ways in which ministers and professors made ends meet. The magistrates refused his request, at which point he offered his resignation. Interestingly, the magistrates then sought the advice of the Company of Pastors. Given that the Company had largely disassociated itself from the chairs of law and their incumbents, the Council's move seems unusual, although it is possible that it was Beza's advice which was being sought. On 2 July 1579, the ministers reported that Pacius' resignation ought to be accepted.⁷⁵ Their advice was not followed, since Pacius was still in the city in 1580, when he and Denis Godefroy, another jurist, this time from the university of Orléans, were asked to divide the teaching of law between them. On 12 March 1580, the magistrates offered Pacius and Godefroy the

⁷² Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 278.

⁷³ RC 73, fol. 165, 18 August 1578.

⁷⁴ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 279.

⁷⁵ RCP IV, 29 June 1579, 2 July 1579, p. 148.

same salaries as the other professors, about 500 florins, along with 100 florins for their lodgings.⁷⁶ In Pacius and Godefroy, the magistrates had two professors with scholarly reputations to occupy the two chairs of law.

However, at times Godefroy and Pacius' occupation of the chairs was in name only. In 1581, Godefroy asked for and received a leave of absence to have his edition of the Corpus juris civilis prepared for printing. In total, he took five years' leave, and only returned to his teaching in 1586.⁷⁷ The Genevan authorities had similar problems with Pacius, who devoted more attention to his financially-rewarding private lectures than to his public ones. On 5 June 1584, and again on 2 November, the magistrates recorded their displeasure at Pacius' methods. 'We hear that Pacius is not continuing his public lectures and that he has not lectured for quite some time. It is agreed that we should warn him to do his duty'.⁷⁸

In spite of Godefroy's prolonged leave of absence, Pacius' focus on his private courses, and the cost of salaries given to those who held the chairs of law, the magistrates refused to give in. Indeed, 1584 can be considered as another turning point in the history of law teaching in the Genevan schola publica. Already in 1581, steps had been taken on a general level to bring the practices of the schola publica more in line with those of universities, so that on 16 January 1581, the schola publica received permission from the magistrates to have its own seal, 'to put on the attestations given to students who are leaving'. The Council agreed to have one 'like other universities, with the inscription sigillum scholae Genevensis'.⁷⁹ In the same year, the magistrates appointed two of their number to be *scholarchs*, the magistrates' representatives in the affairs of the Academy. This innovation was due to a proposal from the ministers, who presented the academies of Berne and Strasbourg, and the university of Basle as examples of institutions with *scholarchs*.⁸⁰ By 1584, the magistrates were intent on transforming the schola publica even further, so that on 6 October 1584, plans were made to have each matriculating student pay a fee for his courses. This may not seem like a major innovation, but until 1584, the schola publica's courses were free. The money collected from the students beginning in 1584 was to be gathered together to make up the salary of a third professor of law who was to teach Justinian's Institutes.⁸¹ At the same time, at the Council's request, the Company of Pastors put together an oath which the students were to swear upon

⁷⁶ RC 75, fol. 49, 12 March 1580.

⁷⁷ Geisendorf, *L'Université de Genève*, p. 51.

⁷⁸ RC 79, fol. 79, 5 June 1584; fol. 147, 2 November 1584.

⁷⁹ RC 76, fol. 10, 16 January 1581.

⁸⁰ RC 76, fol. 183, 20 November 1581.

⁸¹ RC 79, fol. 135, 6 October 1584.

matriculation. As compared with the confession of faith which Genevan students had to swear during Calvin's lifetime, the student oath of 1584 focused primarily on obedience to the magistrates and to the laws of the city, rather than to specific doctrines. Only in the final paragraph of the oath of 1584 is there any mention of religious matters, and even then, the student had only to swear to live piously according to the Word of God, rejecting all papal superstitions and all manifest and condemned heresies.⁸² The council approved of the oath proposed by the ministers, but insisted that in the title of the oath, the scholars should precede the rector.

These were all highly significant changes. By emphasising the role of lay powers in the running of the Academy, and by revising the matriculation and attestation procedures of the schola publica to bring them more in line with the practice in other centres of learning, the magistrates were attempting to transform the schola publica's outlook, giving subjects such as law a greater role and legitimacy. As the original missionary goals of the schola publica receded, the city fathers were able to develop their own alternative vision of a more conventional institution of higher education that would bring prestige to the city and with it additional income.

The magistrates then put their aims into action. By April 1584, Jacques Lect, a native Genevan who had studied in Bourges and whose father had been a Genevan city councillor and syndic, was receiving a salary as professor of law.⁸³ In October of the same year, the magistrates named another Genevan, David Colladon, to the newly-created post of professor of the Institutes. David Colladon was a member of a well-known Franco-Genevan family. His father Germain, a French refugee, was a prominent Genevan lawyer and legal expert, and his brother Esaie taught philosophy in the schola publica.⁸⁴ David Colladon's own expertise in law is somewhat more doubtful. The terms of his employment on 16 October 1584 stated that he was to give 5 lectures a week in return for 300 florins a year, a significantly lower salary than Lect or Pacius were receiving, at 450 florins a year.⁸⁵ On 3 November 1584, the magistrates were informed that Colladon could only really provide 4 lectures a week, but that he hoped to do more as he advanced in the study of law.⁸⁶ Thus, Colladon appears to have been somewhat out of his depth as a professor, at least during the first years of his tenure. In any event, by the end of 1584, three men were lecturing in law in the Genevan schola publica. Out of the

⁸² Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 149-150.

⁸³ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 296.

⁸⁴ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 310.

⁸⁵ RCP V, 16 October 1584, p. 39.

⁸⁶ RC 79, fol. 156, 6 November 1584.

three, however, two were Genevans. While Lect enjoyed a certain reputation as a legal scholar during his lifetime and afterwards, Colladon was a secondary figure. It is unclear whether Lect and Colladon were chosen by Geneva's magistrates as much for their talents as for the fact that they were Genevans. The magistrates could hope that Lect and Colladon's loyalty and family ties would keep them in the city for longer than their foreign colleagues usually stayed. The magistrates could also pay them less than they paid foreign scholars. For example, though Lect was to be hired for the same salary as Pacius, namely 150 florins a trimester, Lect in fact received only 125 florins a trimester. The difference of 25 florins was paid to Lect as his fee for being a Genevan magistrate.⁸⁷ Lect was indeed receiving as much as Pacius, but in return, Lect held double responsibilities.

In 1585, the magistrates still managed to retain three professors, in spite of Pacius' departure for Heidelberg in April of that year, for Denis Godefroy returned from his leave of absence and began teaching once again starting in July 1585.⁸⁸

The expansion of the Genevan schola publica had repercussions on its own funds and on the legacies and donations left by Genevans for the Academy. As the institution grew bigger, the administration of its funds and their use grew more complex. On 6 February 1576, the Small Council studied a proposal which called for the amalgamation of the donation funds of the Academy and of the city hospital. The proposal was however rejected, because it was thought it might keep people from making donations and legacies to both funds.⁸⁹ On 27 April of the same year, the magistrates indicated that some funds would be repaid to the Academy from the amount which it had lent to the city bank.⁹⁰ Hence, one of the uses to which the Academy's own funds were put appears to have been to provide seed-money for the young Genevan bank. In 1580, the situation was more serious. On 25 July, Beza and La Faye spoke to one of the syndics about the drop in legacies made to the Academy. The ministers stated that people were giving less because they did not know where the money was going, and suggested that the rector might be given direct control over the funds. In response, the Small Council reiterated the previous steps taken to deal with legacies, namely that notaries had to report all legacies to the Small Council, that the chambre des comptes, the Genevan treasury, had to declare all legacies received, and that the rector had to make sure he signed all receipts, when legacies were transferred from the Genevan treasury to the strong-box intended for

⁸⁷ RCP V, 26 October 1583, p. 22 footnote.

⁸⁸ RC 80, fol. 62, 27 April 1585; fol. 90, 2 July 1585.

⁸⁹ RC 71, fol. 21, 6 February 1576.

⁹⁰ RC 71, fol. 62, 27 April 1576.

donations to the Academy.⁹¹ In spite of the reinforcement of customary procedures by the magistrates, Beza and La Faye's concern did indicate evidence of a problem that was more than procedural. The drop in givings may have had several causes, including the growth of other bodies appealing for legacies, such as the various Bourses of the foreign churches, and the fact that the Academy was no longer in its construction phase, when people could see the impact of their gifts in the growth of the schola privata's buildings. Although the fabric of the Academy's buildings was in need of repairs between 1572 and 1586, the situation was not the same as in the early days of construction from 1558 to 1562.⁹²

II: The 1586 Crisis

Between 1586 and 1587, for 18 months, Charles-Emmanuel, the Duke of Savoy, attempted to regain control of Geneva and its territories through a comprehensive blockade, which prevented both food and reinforcements from reaching Geneva. Access by road, and in part by the lake, was sealed off by the Savoyard troops. Inevitably, the blockade resulted in fewer and fewer students reaching Geneva. By the end of July 1586, the professors of law were dismissed because of the lack of students in their lectures.⁹³ By 1 August 1586, the magistrates turned their attention to the lecteurs publics, and began to indicate that these other professors would also have to be dismissed.⁹⁴ The Company of Pastors, which had not reacted at all to the dismissal of the law professors, fiercely opposed the magistrates' plans to eliminate the chairs of Hebrew, Greek, and arts as a cost-cutting measure. The text of the ministers' protest on 5 August 1586, recorded in the Small Council's registers, is worth examining closely for the ministers' arguments as to why the schola publica ought to be kept open, for these show which characteristics of the schola publica were most important in the Company's eyes. The following quotation is the city secretary's report on what the ministers said.

'[The ministers] find very peculiar the decision to eliminate the professors from the Academy. After all, the schola publica is not the lower-level school. Instead, it attracts those who have money to spend. If Messieurs would consider how much profit the schola publica has brought to the city for the last twenty-five

⁹¹ RC 75, fol. 129, 25 July 1580.

⁹² Concern over the state of the schola privata's buildings and their need for repairs appeared in the Small Council records between 1572 and 1586. RC 68, fol. 157, 27 July 1573 (chimneys); RC 69, fol. 209, 16 December 1574 (new wall and fence); RC 72, fol. 113, 19 August 1577; fol. 115, 22 August 1577 (general repairs).

⁹³ RC 81, fol. 154, 26 July 1586.

⁹⁴ RC 81, fol. 156, 1 August 1586.

years, they would not consider dismissing the professors. If they are dismissed, we shall see whether the city will profit from such a move. This school, according to the ministers, is the nursery for French pastors. Students are sent from England to train here for the ministry, as they were from Flanders in previous years. All this will be ruined, and will not be to the credit of the Seigneurie. The ministers affirm that the Jesuits have founded schools everywhere, even in Savoy and in Switzerland. The ministers also said that the French churches are destroyed everywhere, having only one college at La Rochelle. The ministers begged the magistrates not to be so focused on money, even stating that they know that part of the money contributed by England is meant for the schola publica. The ministers pointed out as well that theology cannot be studied without the [ancient] languages. They also noted that M. Casaubon has plenty of students, and 23 have recently graduated from the schola privata to the public lectures. The ministers will ensure that these students attend classes, and in spite of the drop in number of students, the ministers ask that the schola publica not be closed down because of it. If we cut back here, everything else will dwindle away. In the end, the ministers asked the magistrates to reconsider these matters as well as the reputation of the churches and the good which filters through to the churches. They would be unhappy if the magistrates' decisions were acted upon. If the wall is breached, people will be upset. The ministers recommended instead any other means, and the ministers themselves will do their part. The schola publica of Geneva is held in high esteem throughout the world. Those who have come to it have contributed to the public and private realms. If this is done, Geneva will be buried, and our enemies will rejoice. May God keep us from seeing such a thing. We will not be able to restore the schola publica to its former state after these hard times, whatever others may claim'.⁹⁵

The Genevan ministers' defence of the Genevan schola publica focused on its vital role in Geneva, particularly in attracting wealthy students to the city, on its significance as an international centre of training for the ministry, and on its importance as a bulwark against Geneva's enemies. The ministers feared that its disappearance would affect more than simply the educational domain. It is clear how closely the survival of Geneva's schola publica and of the city itself were associated in the minds of the Genevan pastors. Though the ministers' intervention managed to prevent the magistrates from dismissing the professors of arts and of ancient languages, it was unable to do more than delay the schola publica's virtual closure by two months.

⁹⁵ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, pp. 192-3. The money coming from England came from a collection in the English dioceses, authorised by Elizabeth after the embassy of the Genevan councillor Maillet in 1583.

On 7 October, the Company of Pastors decided to notify the civil authorities that 'given the present difficulties, and that the number of city ministers may be too high, if the magistrates wish, we would accept it if they dismiss whoever they wish'.⁹⁶ Even the ministers' willingness to reduce the number of salaried city pastors had little effect. Apparently, the civil authorities felt that the professors, rather than the ministers, were more easily done without.

On 8 October 1586, the Small Council noted that the salaries of the three professors constituted a heavy burden for the city and that none of the three had any students in attendance at his lectures. Therefore, the magistrates decided to dismiss the professors of arts, Greek and Hebrew.⁹⁷ The ministers made a last-ditch attempt to change the Small Council's decree, appearing before the magistrates on 10 October. '[The ministers] asked the magistrates to realise that the Pope and his acolytes not only hate this city because it is a state, but also because it is a church and a school, whose attacks have wounded him more than real weapons could. Without its professors, this school is nothing. God has brought honour to this city through the schola publica which has been called upon by all the corners of Christendom. And today the fruits of this ministry are springing up in France, Flanders, England, etc. Thus, God is using Messieurs as instruments of his glory and of the source of this city's reputation, namely its schola publica. [...] As for the expense of the professors, the ministers stated that in no other school do they work as hard for such small wages, and if one compares costs, Messieurs would see that for every écu spent, we have profited from 100 écus. There is a difference between necessity and last resort. [...] This foundation is exquisite. If we destroy it, the Pope will rejoice'.⁹⁸ Once again the ministers stressed Geneva's role as an international centre of higher education, and the Europe-wide impact of its schola publica. On the one hand, the arguments were clearly intended to appeal to the magistrates' civic pride and to their pride in the Genevan schola publica's international role, but there is also a sense in which the ministers played on the magistrates' fears that Geneva without its schola publica would be vulnerable to attack.

In spite of the ministers' eloquence, the magistrates were not swayed. Galez was dismissed, along with his two other colleagues. He left for France after having received a letter of attestation from the Company of Pastors.⁹⁹ As for Bertram, he received a letter of attestation on 19 October 1586 from the Company of Pastors,

⁹⁶ RCP V, 7 October 1586, p. 135.

⁹⁷ RC 81, fol. 226, 8 October 1586.

⁹⁸ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 194.

⁹⁹ RCP V, 11 November 1586, p. 137.

written in Latin and in French, and bearing the Academy's seal.¹⁰⁰ On 13 March 1587, two months prior to the reopening of the schola publica, Bertram left Geneva for Frankenthal and Heidelberg. For his part, Casaubon also received a letter of attestation from the Company of Pastors for his services.¹⁰¹ The lecturing posts of Beza and La Faye were not cut during the Savoyard blockade because both were ministers, and thus they helped to keep at least part of the schola publica functioning while all the other professors had been dismissed. While La Faye continued to lecture every two weeks, Beza began to lecture every week, beginning 23 January 1587, appropriately enough on the Book of Job.¹⁰²

Whereas the external disaster of the St Bartholomew's Day massacre had proved beneficial to the Geneva schola publica through the recruitment of several professors with international reputations, a combination of lack of resources and interest, the Savoy blockade and misfortune had brought the schola publica to a sorry state by 1586. Theology, by virtue of its close association with the Genevan ministry, was the only subject to survive the blockade more or less intact.

The pattern of academic life and student numbers between 1573 and 1586 mirrored the sudden expansion, followed by a rapid decline in the number and calibre of the Genevan schola publica's staff. The total number of students during the period was 517. The peak year in terms of enrolment in the schola publica was 1584, when 149 students matriculated, the year in which a new chair of law was inaugurated and the student confession of faith was replaced by the student oath. By 1585, the number of newly-matriculated students dropped to 39, and in 1586, only one student matriculated in the schola publica. Thus, one can see the effectiveness of the Savoy blockade in terms of its repercussions on student numbers.

From 1579 onwards, those matriculating in the schola publica began to indicate their chosen field of study, thus providing more information on what subjects students came to Geneva to study. The earlier approach of the schola publica had allowed for more flexible boundaries, in which students could move from subject to subject, following their interests and the trail of famous professors in all fields. The specification of fields of study after 1579 indicates something of the gradual change towards a model closer to that of a university, in which students registered in a particular faculty.

The information available on students' later careers indicates that the growing number of students who stated they were intending to study law in the schola

¹⁰⁰ RCP V, 19 October 1586, p. 136.

¹⁰¹ RCP V, 11 November 1586, p. 137.

¹⁰² RCP V, 20 January 1587, p. 144 and footnote.

publica was paralleled by a growth in the number of students turning to non-ecclesiastical careers. In 1579, the 13 students who later became ministers were closely followed by 10 who took on employment as civil servants or politicians. In 1580, though 12 students later became ministers, 11 entered the civil service or politics. In 1581, only 8 students went on to the ministry, while 13 students took their places in the ranks of the nobility, and 10 others entered the civil service. [Graphs 5, 6, 7]

The overall expansion in numbers during the 1570s and 1580s reached all the way down to the lowest levels of the schola privata, for between 1572 and 1586, the ministers twice requested the Small Council to subdivide the lowest classes, because of the large numbers of pupils. On 13 May 1574, the ministers noted that the regent of the lowest class, Laurent Aymedieu, had 150 children in his class.¹⁰³ On 2 February 1579, the ministers requested the Small Council to subdivide the lowest class once more.¹⁰⁴

In the schola publica, its development and the appeal of its professors led not only to a rise in the number of students but also to an increase in the diversity of their places of origin. The development of the law courses in particular led to an increase in the number of northern students, from the German states, the Netherlands, or from Scandinavia. In 1576, out of the 20 students who matriculated, 8 were from the German states and 4 from the northern Netherlands, whereas only 2 came from France. In 1580 the growing numbers of non-French students included 18 from the northern Netherlands, 13 from the German states and 12 from Switzerland, whereas 13 came from France. Finally, in 1583, while 17 students came from France, 8 came from the German states, 7 from the United Provinces, and 6 each came from Geneva and from Denmark. [Graph 5].

The growing diversity of the student body after 1572, and the problems stemming from this diversity are illustrated by the rise in the number of complaints about foreign, and specifically German students in the registers of the Small Council and of the Company of Pastors. On the one hand, attracting German students to Geneva was a priority of the ministers and magistrates. On 22 September 1572, under the heading 'German students', the registers of the Small Council noted that many German students would stay in Geneva, if they were provided with funds, for they would have an obligation to the city until they could repay the loan and would have to send messengers to their countries to obtain the necessary funds to do so. The Small Council agreed to lend money to the German students provided that the

¹⁰³ RC 69, fol. 85, 13 May 1574.

¹⁰⁴ RC 74, fol. 21, 2 February 1579.

latter would submit to the magistrates' authority.¹⁰⁵ The magistrates' emphasis on submission to their authority was a vital requirement, because of the Genevan leaders' concern over the possible behaviour problems among the northern students who, in some cases because of their noble rank, were more difficult to control than French or Genevan students.

The same concern to attract the German students but also to keep them in line is shown in the ministers' appearance before the Small Council on 19 December 1581. Beginning in August 1580, a German minister had been holding services in German to cater for those of that language in Geneva. The first minister, Jérôme Schlick, was succeeded by Johannes Krollius in November 1580, because of Schlick's poor health.¹⁰⁶ In 1581, action was undertaken by the Genevan ministers to have the Genevan public purse pay at least part of Krollius' salary, so that he would remain in the city. On 19 December, the ministers stated that Krollius could not maintain himself on the 300 florins annual salary which the Small Council had agreed to provide. The ministers added that much good came from his work, because the noble students and those from good families who came to Geneva would remember the good doctrine which they were taught, and because the teaching of the German minister moderated the behaviour of the nobility in the city at the time.¹⁰⁷

The ministers' complaints to the civil authorities about the behaviour of the foreign students illustrate the nature of the ministers' worries. On 5 March 1577, the magistrates were informed that the German students had held a large dinner party with a lot of wine. The magistrates decided that the Consistory was to be informed.¹⁰⁸ On 20 January 1578, Beza and Antoine Chauve, the Academy's rector, appeared before the magistrates to complain that many students living in lodgings were not attending classes, but were hanging around town instead, especially the Germans, and that they were causing numerous scandals. The Small Council agreed that the ministers should warn the students about their behaviour, and that the magistrates would themselves be vigilant.¹⁰⁹ On 11 May 1579, the ministers warned the Small Council that students were not matriculating, and attended neither lectures nor sermons. Instead, they spent their time gambling and drinking. The Small Council replied that the students would be warned to sign the rector's book.¹¹⁰ The

¹⁰⁵ RC 67, fol. 154, 22 September 1572.

¹⁰⁶ RC 75, fol. 152, 28 August 1580; fol. 209, 21 November 1580.

¹⁰⁷ RC 76, fol. 201, 19 December 1581.

¹⁰⁸ RC 72, fol. 32, 5 March 1577.

¹⁰⁹ RC 73, fol. 12, 20 January 1578.

¹¹⁰ RC 74, fol. 82, 11 May 1579.

magistrates' measure had an immediate effect, in that out of the 54 students who officially matriculated in the schola publica in 1579, 48 matriculated after 11 May.

The Genevan authorities saw matriculation as a way of ensuring a modicum of good behaviour on the part of the students, because one of the components of the oath to be sworn at matriculation included a promise to conform to the Genevan ordinances. Still, the oath did not appear to restrain the students greatly. On 20 December 1583, the Consistory reported to the magistrates that certain Germans were out strolling after 9 at night, a cause for scandal. The Small Council decided to investigate the report, but otherwise no action was taken.¹¹¹ On 11 June 1585, the registers of the Company of Pastors noted that all the German students were to be told to behave themselves modestly and to fulfil their parents' expectations, after a German student boarder had seduced the married niece of his landlady.¹¹²

It is clear that the Genevan authorities faced difficulties in maintaining order in the student body. It seems that part of the problem lay not so much in the students' behaviour, which matched that in other centres of learning, but in the stricter ordinances in effect in Geneva. Indeed, the German students seemed genuinely surprised at the requirements which they had to fulfil. On 27 February 1578, the ministers reported that the German students had not come to swear the confession of faith which acted as the schola publica's student oath at matriculation, and that the German students seemed surprised at its existence. The Small Council decided not to force them to take any oath except one of obedience to the civil authorities.¹¹³ The expansion and development of the Genevan schola publica could and did lead to problems in incorporating foreign students, even if only temporarily, into the fabric of Genevan life.

In certain instances, the students themselves pushed for an even greater expansion of the schola publica. On 31 March 1584, the Small Council was informed that students had asked Jean-Antoine Sarrasin, a medical doctor, to give some medical lectures, and that Sarrasin had agreed to do so, provided the magistrates approved.¹¹⁴ The magistrates did agree to Sarrasin's lectures, which would have been given at the students' cost, not at that of the Genevan treasury. The students soon pushed for medicine to become an established chair in the schola publica, for on 15 December 1584, the magistrates were informed that some students were asking for a course in medicine to be given by a city doctor, claiming that medicine was as

¹¹¹ RC 78, fol. 187, 20 December 1583.

¹¹² RCP V, 11 June 1585, pp. 78-9.

¹¹³ RC 73, fol. 42, 27 February 1578.

¹¹⁴ RC 79, fol. 49, 31 March 1584.

necessary as law. The Small Council decided to reflect on the matter.¹¹⁵ The students' reference to the law courses was a pointed one, since the third chair of law had been inaugurated earlier in 1584. By contrast, the magistrates made no move to provide medical lectures, barring encouraging someone like Sarrasin to do so at the students' cost, effectively keeping medicine outside the official perimeter of the Academy.

While the development of the schola publica after 1572 was largely positive in that the Genevan authorities were able to attract famous professors and expand their curriculum, disciplinary and financial side-effects made the magistrates' and ministers' task more difficult.

III: 1587-1600

In a sense, the 1586 blockade by Savoy proved to be a turning-point in the schola publica's history. Though the blockade lasted less than a year, the schola publica never again attained the heights it did after the arrival of the French exiles in 1572. Though the schola publica did manage to retain or recall some of the professors who had held chairs in the Academy immediately prior to the blockade, no other internationally known professors lectured in Geneva more than briefly until the end of the period surveyed. Instead, the Genevan authorities began to turn to their own citizens to fill the schola publica's chairs, a move which was effective in the short term since it prevented damaging, lengthy vacancies, but which lost the schola publica the international reputation and impetus provided by high-calibre foreign scholars.

The ministers were aware of the damage caused by the schola publica's virtual shut-down in the autumn of 1586. Already on 16 December 1586, the ministers urged the Small Council at least to spread word that the schola publica would be restored in due course.¹¹⁶ On 8 May 1587, the ministers appeared before the Small Council to ask the magistrates to reinstate the professors, especially in Hebrew since Corneille Bertram was willing to return to Geneva to take up the chair of Hebrew once more.¹¹⁷ By July 1587, the chairs of Hebrew, Greek, and arts had been filled, though the chairs of law had to wait until December of the same year to be restored.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ RC 79, fol. 179, 15 December 1584.

¹¹⁶ RCP V, 16 December 1586, p. 139.

¹¹⁷ RC 82, fol. 91, 8 May 1587.

¹¹⁸ RCP V, 7 July 1587, 10 July 1587, p. 155; Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 288.

In July 1587, the ministers and magistrates agreed on the appointment of Gaspard Laurent as professor of arts in a temporary capacity. Laurent, from France, was tutor to the Baron of Liechtenstein in Geneva at the time. Indeed, he remained in the Baron's service during his period as professor in the schola publica, thus making him unsuitable as a long-term incumbent of the arts chair because part of his obligations lay outside the Academy. For Laurent himself, the tenure as professor of arts was unrewarding, since he received no salary for his lectures, an indication both of the temporary nature of his appointment and of the ongoing financial difficulties in Geneva. On 10 November 1587, Laurent asked to be paid, and added that he could not offer more than 4 lectures a week.¹¹⁹ On 1 December 1587, after having examined Laurent's requests and having noted Laurent's ongoing service to the Baron of Liechtenstein, the Company decided 'to try to find a professor of philosophy elsewhere'.¹²⁰ By 29 December 1587, Laurent had been replaced by one of Geneva's rural ministers, Eleazar Perreaud.¹²¹ Though Perreaud swore the professorial oath of obedience to the magistrates on 15 January, he only began his lectures on 12 February, because of the time needed to find a ministerial replacement for him in his rural parish.¹²² Perreaud served until 1593, seemingly with little enthusiasm, since the Company of Pastors complained on 23 November that 'the arts lectures were making little progress, either through the fault of the students or that of M. Perreald, who seems to be thinking and doing other things'.¹²³ On 3 December, Perreaud was replaced by another Genevan minister, Etienne Trembley, who was one of the pastors in the city parish of Saint Gervais at the time.¹²⁴

While Perreaud had been released from ministerial duties in 1588 to be professor of arts, largely because he was in a rural parish at a distance from Geneva, the same did not hold true for Trembley, who was expected to continue his parish ministry in the city and teach philosophy in the schola publica at the same time. On 11 January 1594, Trembley complained that the double load of preaching and teaching was too great. He also asked to be paid for his lectures.¹²⁵ Trembley's situation was similar to that of Laurent, lecturing for free while holding other responsibilities. While the use of men such as Laurent and Trembley was effective as a temporary measure, and allowed lectures to be given at no cost to the public purse,

¹¹⁹ RCP V, 10 November 1587, p. 171.

¹²⁰ RCP V, 1 December 1587, p. 173.

¹²¹ RCP V, 29 December 1587, p. 175.

¹²² RCP V, 15 January 1588, p. 178 and footnote.

¹²³ RCP VI, 23 November 1593, p. 123.

¹²⁴ RCP VI, 3 December 1593, pp. 112 footnote, 123.

¹²⁵ RCP VI, 11 January 1594, p. 127.

the professors concerned found the situation difficult, and it is debatable whether the schola publica actually profited much from professors whose appointment was only an interim measure. Trembley's complaints were not addressed by the Small Council, which was, however, aware that the philosophy courses were not running as well as they might have, since already on 31 December 1593, the magistrates suggested that a new professor, Esaie Colladon, should be appointed in Trembley's place.¹²⁶

Esaie Colladon was a Genevan, son of the lawyer Germain Colladon and brother of David Colladon, who lectured on the Institutes in the schola publica. In the end, Esaie Colladon, who had previously taught in Lausanne, lectured in physics and mathematics in Geneva, while Trembley continued his logic lectures, but this time in return for a salary.¹²⁷ This division of the arts course came to an end in 1595, when Trembley left for Lausanne and was not replaced.¹²⁸

In Hebrew, in spite of Bertram's professed interest in returning to Geneva to lecture, the chair was offered to a Genevan, Pierre Chevalier, who had studied in Heidelberg in the 1570s. He then became a minister in the rural parish of Céligny, a post which he held until his appointment as Hebrew professor on 30 June 1587.¹²⁹ His appointment was a source of some conflict between the Company of Pastors who urged Bertram's recall, and the Small Council which insisted that Chevalier be appointed. On 29 May, Beza and Jacquemot appeared before the Small Council to ask for Bertram's recall. 'Following the declaration made to the ministers that the schola publica and its professors were to be reinstated, the ministers heard the said Chevalier make a presentation on the texts and give a commentary and found him to be knowledgeable and well-taught. However, given that the restoration of the schola publica is at stake, [the ministers pointed out] that M. Corneille's name is much better known, as he is one of the most learned men known today, and has even written books'.¹³⁰ Clearly, the ministers were opting for the better-known candidate, thinking of Geneva's international reputation, while the magistrates' preference for Chevalier may have been due to his presence in Geneva and to his role as a Genevan citizen. In the end, though Bertram was offered the post, he did not return to Geneva, leaving Pierre Chevalier as professor of Hebrew in the Genevan schola publica until 9 March 1594, the date of Chevalier's death. The only work

¹²⁶ RC 88, fol. 185, 31 December 1593.

¹²⁷ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 206-7.

¹²⁸ Geisendorf, L'université de Genève, pp. 57-8.

¹²⁹ RCP V, 18 December 1584, p. 45 and footnote; 30 June 1587, p. 155.

¹³⁰ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 198 footnote.

which he published in Geneva during his lifetime was a re-edition of Antoine Le Chevalier's Hebrew grammar in 1590.¹³¹

From 1594 to 1597, the chair of Hebrew in the schola publica stood vacant though the Company of Pastors made various attempts to fill the post. On 3 May 1594, two months after Chevalier's death, the registers of the Company of Pastors noted that the possibility of a Hebrew professor from Heidelberg was discussed, but that in the end, the ministers felt that the unnamed candidate was unsuitable for the post.¹³² On 12 July 1594, the ministers heard that Caspar Waser, a Zurich professor and minister who had studied in Geneva, could not return to Geneva as professor of Hebrew. At the same time, they were informed that there was a young man in Zurich who could perhaps fill the post, for 'he has received good testimony and is well-trained in Hebrew'. The Company of Pastors agreed to have him come to Geneva for a trial period at their cost, but in the end decided that he would not do, 'because he is not yet trained in teaching'.¹³³ The name of the young man from Zurich is not known. In January 1595, the registers of the Company indicated that Jean d'Ivoy was lecturing in Hebrew in the schola publica, and that he was being asked to continue his lectures, though it is not known when precisely these began.¹³⁴ His teaching was clearly successful, for on 18 July 1595, the Company of Pastors wrote to the church of Metz, that had sponsored d'Ivoy's studies for the ministry, asking the Metz church to release d'Ivoy from his obligations so that he could be appointed as professor of Hebrew in the Genevan schola publica. In other words, d'Ivoy's previous lecturing had been entirely voluntary, which saved the magistrates a salary, but which did not give the teaching of Hebrew a very secure footing. Interestingly, in the same letter the Genevans reported that Casaubon, the professor of Greek, had also been giving Hebrew lectures on the Rabbinical writings.¹³⁵ Though the church of Metz did agree to have d'Ivoy remain in Geneva as professor of Hebrew for four years or more, it would not release him unconditionally, and under such circumstances, on 24 October 1595, d'Ivoy refused to take on the post and to remain in Geneva. The Genevan magistrates paid him 92 1/2 florins for the Hebrew lectures he had done, and he was back in Metz by 1597.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Chaix, Les Livres imprimés, p. 127.

¹³² RCP VI, 3 May 1594, p. 131.

¹³³ RCP VI, 12 July 1594, p. 136.

¹³⁴ RCP VII, 31 January 1595, p. 5 and footnote.

¹³⁵ RCP VII, 18 July 1595, the Company of Pastors to the church of Metz, p. 219.

¹³⁶ RCP VII, p. 228; 24 October 1595, p. 23.

The Company made efforts again in 1595 to find a suitable candidate for the vacant chair of Hebrew. One possible candidate was Florimond Perreaux, another former student of the Genevan schola publica who was a lawyer in the Paris parlement at the time. On 23 January 1596, however, the ministers recognised that obtaining Perreaux would be difficult, because the ministers were unsure of the magistrates' approval, and because the ministers too thought that having a local member of the Company of Pastors lecture might be more expedient.¹³⁷ When Beza and the minister Jean Pinault spoke to the syndic about the need to re-establish the chair of Hebrew and to call Perreaux 'because such teaching forms the groundwork of theology and is the pride of the schola publica', the magistrates responded, 'Though we would like to have learned men here to add to the school's reputation, because of the lack of public funds, we cannot take on a professor of Hebrew at present'.¹³⁸ Though Hebrew was a vital part of the intellectual offerings of the schola publica, the magistrates based their refusal on questions of finance. It may be that Geneva's financial problems were such that another professor's salary could not be afforded. Nevertheless, the deliberate decision on the part of the magistrates to abandon, even if only temporarily, the funding for a professor of Hebrew indicates that Hebrew had dropped in importance as an independent subject, and that the magistrates' priorities lay elsewhere.

On 10 January 1597, the ministers proposed to the Small Council that the son of Charles Diodati, Jean, should be appointed as professor of Hebrew, and on 7 February, Jean Diodati was received into the Company of Pastors.¹³⁹ Diodati had grown up in Geneva and had matriculated in the schola publica in 1596. On his appointment to the chair of Hebrew, Diodati was 20 years old. The chair of Hebrew had been filled, but Diodati's youth and lack of experience were a handicap. On 2 February 1599, the ministers decided that the students of the schola publica ought to be called together to be reminded to do their duty and to go to the Hebrew lectures which were poorly attended, though the Company did note that the diligence and capacities of the professor were not at fault.¹⁴⁰ Diodati retained the chair of Hebrew until 1606.

In Greek, Casaubon's replacement after the 1586 crisis was the minister Jean-Baptiste Rotan, who had already demonstrated his teaching abilities when he replaced various absent colleagues prior to 1586.¹⁴¹ Rotan's versatility made him

¹³⁷ RCP VII, 23 January 1596, p. 30.

¹³⁸ RC 91, fol. 28, 28 January 1596.

¹³⁹ RC 92, fol. 9, 10 January 1597; RCP VII, 7 February 1597, p. 59.

¹⁴⁰ RCP VII, 2 February 1599, p. 140.

¹⁴¹ RCP V, 30 June 1587, p. 155.

attractive in other fields as well. When the minister of the Genevan Italian church, Niccolo Balbani died in August 1587, the Italian church named Rotan as Balbani's successor, effectively making it impossible in the eyes of the Company of Pastors for Rotan to continue lecturing in Greek. On 25 August, Casaubon was asked whether he would consider returning to his Greek chair. He agreed, and was officially reappointed on 4 September 1587.¹⁴² Casaubon held the chair of Greek until his departure for Montpellier in 1596. During his nine-year tenure from 1587, Casaubon was the Genevan *schola publica*'s leading figure.

Casaubon's considerable literary output was a factor in his scholarly reputation, and by extension in that of the Academy.¹⁴³ However, his fame also had its disadvantage, in that he was expensive. In 1587, he was receiving a yearly salary of 500 florins, on a par with his professorial colleagues and Genevan city ministers. On 6 August 1591, however, after Casaubon had complained that he could not manage on the salary he was receiving and that he was receiving offers of employment from elsewhere, the ministers asked the magistrates to act. In response, the magistrates gave Casaubon a gift of 50 écus, about 250 to 300 florins, and a gift of wheat.¹⁴⁴ In December 1592, Casaubon again told the Genevan authorities that he was receiving tempting offers from elsewhere. The Small Council then increased his wages to 800 florins a year, while his professorial colleagues remained on 500 florins a year.¹⁴⁵ In October 1594 and again in October 1595, Casaubon still complained that he could not make ends meet. In both years, the magistrates agreed to give him a gift of 300 florins, which, added to his 800 florins annual salary, brought his total income to 1100 florins.¹⁴⁶ Retaining Casaubon was so important to the magistrates that they decided in October 1585 to make their 300 florins gift a secret one, so as not to make Casaubon's colleagues jealous.¹⁴⁷ Finally, on 20 January 1596, after Casaubon complained that the noise of the children playing in the adjacent school-

¹⁴² *RCP* V, 21 August 1587, pp. 158-9; 25 August 1587, p. 159; 4 September 1587, p. 161.

¹⁴³ Chaix, *Les Livres imprimés*, pp. 119, 126, 127, 131, 135, 137, 139, 146. In 1587, Casaubon edited a geographical work by Strabon, and provided a commentary for it. In the same year, he published an annotated New Testament. In 1589, Casaubon edited the Greek version of Polyen's *Stratagematum*. In 1590, he edited a work of Aristotle, whereas in 1591, he brought out some of the letters of Pliny the younger. In 1592, he brought out an edition of Theophrastus, and a work by Diogenes Laertes in 1593. In 1594, he edited Apuleius's *Apology*, and in 1595, he published an edition of Suetonius' works, which was republished a year later in 1596.

¹⁴⁴ *RCP* VI, 6 August 1591, p. 81; *RC* 86, fol. 149, 11 August 1591.

¹⁴⁵ *RCP* VI, 8 December 1592, p. 111 and footnote.

¹⁴⁶ *RC* 89, fol. 144, 28 October 1594; *RC* 90, fol. 184, 17 October 1596.

¹⁴⁷ *RC* 90, fol. 184, 17 October 1595.

yard was distracting him when he worked at home, the magistrates decided to give him 200 florins annually, to help him rent somewhere quieter.¹⁴⁸

In the end, though the magistrates' investment in Casaubon may have kept him in Geneva for longer than if he had received the usual salary, better offers were still reaching Casaubon from elsewhere. By 16 November 1596, the Small Council had agreed to release Casaubon for Montpellier.¹⁴⁹ Casaubon was only replaced on 7 February 1597 by Gaspard Laurent, who had already given lectures in the schola publica, but in arts, 10 years before.

The history of the chairs of arts and ancient languages after 1586 had its more difficult moments, chiefly because of the increasing competition from other institutions for outstanding professors. More and more, Geneva was forced to rely on local professors, who were not always interested or experienced enough to follow in the footsteps of their more illustrious predecessors in the schola publica. Such problems were inherent in restarting an institution like the schola publica after the 1586 hiatus, given that the energies of the Genevan authorities, professors, and students had turned to other matters during the period of closure. The history of the chair of theology, however, should reveal fewer problems, since it suffered no official interruption during 1586, although it is likely that student numbers declined in theology as well during the period of the blockade.

Beza and La Faye continued their lectures in theology, but as Beza grew older, he was less able to fulfil his lecturing duties, and so began to look for an assistant and later for a successor. In 1587, Jean-Baptiste Rotan, then minister of the Genevan Italian church, was also asked to lecture on the Loci Communes in the schola publica so as to maintain his links with the French language church and with the Company of Pastors. On 4 September 1587, Beza and Jacquemot proposed to the Small Council that Rotan should join Beza and La Faye as professor of theology: 'in this way, we would have three [professors] as they do in other famous cities, one to teach the Old Testament, one the New Testament, and the third to teach the Commonplaces'.¹⁵⁰ The model of other centres of learning continued to be cited in support of desired innovations in the schola publica, at least when human and financial resources were available. There is no further evidence of Rotan's work as professor of theology, and in May 1589 he left Geneva for France.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ RC 91, fol. 19, 20 January 1596.

¹⁴⁹ RCP VII, 16 November 1596, p. 50.

¹⁵⁰ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 237.

¹⁵¹ RCP VI, 13 May 1589, p. 12.

In September 1595, Beza's ill-health forced him to interrupt his teaching. The schola publica's theology lectures received temporary assistance from November 1595 until February 1596 from Conrad Vorst, from Cologne. Vorst had studied in Heidelberg, and agreed to lecture on the Loci Communes on 5 December 1595.¹⁵² Once again he received no salary for his lectures, though the magistrates eventually decided on 4 February 1596 to give Vorst the usual professorial salary of 800 florins a year, if he agreed to a two-year contract. However, it was a case of too little, too late, as Vorst accepted instead a call to teach in the theological college of Steinfurt.¹⁵³

Another attempt was made in 1596 to find an outside scholar to lecture in theology in the Genevan schola publica. On 3 December 1596, Beza asked the Small Council to take measures so that Hermann Lignaridus, from Westphalia, would continue his successful theology lectures in the schola publica.¹⁵⁴ By 24 December 1596, Lignaridus had agreed to serve as professor of theology so long as he was released by his protector, the Elector Palatine. In exchange, the magistrates agreed to pay him 1600 florins a year, double the salary of the other professors. It is possible that the high salaries paid to Casaubon and Pacius had made it easier for the magistrates to contemplate offering an equally large sum to Lignaridus, but it may also be that the magistrates were aware both of the centrality of theology for the schola publica and of Beza's growing frailty, necessitating a replacement.

Lignaridus' appointment was unusual, in that he was the first officially salaried professor of theology never to have been a minister. Though Daneau had eventually devoted himself entirely to teaching, he had been ordained and had served as a parish minister. Lignaridus was a layman, and as such, his status within the Genevan ecclesiastical structures was somewhat ambiguous. As he was not a minister, he did not receive lodgings from the Small Council, but instead was given 100 florins to cover his rental costs.¹⁵⁵ On 22 July 1597, the Company of Pastors asked Lignaridus to lecture every week, rather than every two weeks as had been done in the past. Once again, it is possible that the Genevan authorities were moving towards the establishment of a theology course which had more in common with universities than with the original seminary model established by Calvin.

Lignaridus did not retain his theology chair for long, since he accepted a post in the Academy of Berne in September 1598. One reason suggested for Lignaridus' rapid departure from Geneva was that he had been involved in an oral disputation in March 1598 with a Catholic priest, the père Chérubin, in the Chablais region near

¹⁵² RCP VII, 5 December 1595, p. 27.

¹⁵³ RCP VII, 12 March 1596, p. 32 and footnotes.

¹⁵⁴ RCP VII, 3 December 1596, p. 51.

¹⁵⁵ RCP VII, 7 January 1597, pp. 56-7, p. 57 footnote.

Geneva. Père Chérubin was attempting to bring the local people back to Catholicism, in an area where the Genevan Reformation had previously taken root. Their disputation had lasted two days, and its results were inconclusive, although Lignaridus' participation in the debate had placed the Genevan ministers in an awkward position. Though Lignaridus had entered into the debate in his own name only, the père Chérubin had used Lignaridus' participation as an opportunity to challenge the entire Genevan and Bernese Reformed churches to an oral duel, something which the Genevan ministers did not want, as they preferred the debate to be held in writing. In other words, through Lignaridus' two-day encounter with the père Chérubin, the Genevan Company of Pastors was embroiled in a debate which it would rather have avoided altogether.¹⁵⁶

Lignaridus' departure for Berne in September 1598 left little more than Antoine de La Faye lecturing. Charles Perrot agreed, as he had in the past, to lecture as an interim measure between December 1598 and October 1599. At first, the Company attempted to have Perrot take over Lignaridus' weekly lecturing, and thus his chair, but La Faye then also indicated his willingness to lecture every week, aiming for Lignaridus' post as well.¹⁵⁷ In the end, the Company re-established the pattern of lectures from each professor to fall in alternate weeks.¹⁵⁸ In order to facilitate the return to the previous pattern of lecturing, Beza even offered to teach twice a week on the theological method in Paul's Epistle to the Romans.¹⁵⁹ Beza continued to lecture until 4 January 1599, still on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, but these were his last lectures in the schola publica.¹⁶⁰

A final attempt was made in October 1598 to obtain an external scholar as theology professor for the Genevan schola publica. On 6 October, the Company of Pastors agreed that if possible, it would try to attract Franciscus Junius from Leiden to Geneva, as long as this could be done without offending the Leiden university authorities. Junius, who was a former student of the Genevan schola publica, was thought to be a good candidate, particularly as he would be of assistance to Dutch students already in Geneva, and thus to the United Provinces as a whole.¹⁶¹ On 24 October 1598, the minister Simon Goulart approached the Small Council to warn them that in the event of Beza's death, a replacement professor of theology would be

¹⁵⁶ RCP VII, 1 August 1598, p. 95 and footnote; 27 September 1598, pp. 109-10, p. 109 footnote.

¹⁵⁷ RCP VII, 24 November 1598, p. 122.

¹⁵⁸ RCP VII, 8 December 1598, p. 127.

¹⁵⁹ RCP VII, 15 December 1598, p. 129.

¹⁶⁰ RCP VII, 4 January 1599, p. 134 and footnote.

¹⁶¹ RCP VII, 6 October 1598, p. 115.

needed, and that Junius seemed to be a good choice.¹⁶² Though the Council agreed that Junius ought to be approached, he never came to Geneva, perhaps because of growing ecclesiological differences with Beza after Junius' publication of the Eirenikon.¹⁶³

In 1599, after Beza had become too frail to lecture, after Perrot had refused to carry on his own lecturing, and after all attempts had failed to find a foreign professor to lecture in theology in the schola publica for any length of time, La Faye was left as the schola publica's only actively lecturing theology professor. On 30 November 1599, the Company of Pastors filled the vacant chair by appointing Jean Diodati as professor of theology alongside La Faye. Diodati was already professor of Hebrew, and the Company of Pastors expected him to carry on his Hebrew lectures while at the same time shouldering half the teaching load in theology. Diodati was then 23. Clearly, the Company of Pastors felt that something permanent would result from Diodati's appointment, since the Company's secretary noted 'And so we now have two professors of theology, well set up for the future'.¹⁶⁴ Given that they could not obtain anyone from outside Geneva, the ministers turned to a local candidate to fill the breach. While Diodati undoubtedly fulfilled his lecturing responsibilities, due to his youth, it would be difficult to claim that he had in fact replaced Beza, Perrot, or any of the other theologians who had lectured in the schola publica before him. The chair of theology followed the pattern of the chairs of arts and ancient languages, in that in spite of attempts to restore the teaching to its former levels and to attract and keep famous foreign scholars, the chairs of theology sank into a more minor role, particularly as Beza, their mainstay, grew older.

When the Savoyard blockade was lifted, the ministers and magistrates worked to put the schola publica back on its feet. In a move designed to ensure that the schola publica was restored in its entirety, including the law courses whose existence was not guaranteed in the Academy's statutes, Beza sent circular letters to Germany and to other areas, announcing the reopening of the schola publica at full strength for the autumn of 1587.¹⁶⁵ In fact, the re-establishment of the law courses was made easier by the fact that none of the professors dismissed the year before had left the city. On 20 November 1587, the Small Council decided to approach Lect, Colladon, Godefroy, and François Hotman, who had returned from Basle in 1584 and

¹⁶² RC 93, fol. 163, 24 October 1598.

¹⁶³ RCP VII, 19 October 1599, p. 181 and footnote.

¹⁶⁴ RCP VII, 30 November 1599, p. 190.

¹⁶⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 288.

who had been giving private courses in law in Geneva since then.¹⁶⁶ Godefroy, Lect and Colladon all accepted the invitation to teach in return for their accustomed salary of 500 florins a year for the first two, and 400 florins a year for Colladon. Hotman, however, was only willing to teach in return for 300 écus, or 1800 florins, a salary which the magistrates could not afford to pay.¹⁶⁷ Therefore, the magistrates only re-appointed Godefroy, Lect, and Colladon.

The relationship between professors' teaching duties and their private courses and research was still an unresolved matter, as complaints were expressed about Denis Godefroy in 1588, because his editing and his private teaching distracted him from his lecturing obligations. The Company of Pastors recorded the complaint, and decided to have the rector of the Academy speak to Godefroy.¹⁶⁸ At the same time, lay oversight of the Academy was on the increase, for when a vacancy had to be filled in the ranks of the *scholarchs* in July 1588, the magistrates appointed Lect to the post.¹⁶⁹ Thus, one of the *schola publica*'s professors, a layman in a subject championed particularly by laymen, was given the oversight of his own institution. If nothing else, Lect's role as a *scholarch* would have increased the law chairs' chance of survival, since he could have used his position to recommend their preservation.

Unfortunately, however, the course of events was too strong. In 1589, the war between Savoy and Geneva began. From the start, Geneva's limited financial resources were stretched to the limit. In April 1589, the Council decreed 'Given that we need funds, it is agreed that [the professors of law] should be dismissed and that they shall no longer receive any salary'.¹⁷⁰ At this point, Godefroy left Geneva, going to Basle, Strasbourg, and Heidelberg.¹⁷¹ It was only in 1592 that the magistrates began to consider once again the possibility of restarting the law courses. 'We have received reports from various places in Germany that if we were to re-establish the teaching of law here, many students would come, including from France, where schools are closed because of the wars. It is agreed that we should ask M. Lect and Colladon to teach'.¹⁷² Lect and Colladon were willing, but the magistrates felt that the law courses needed the presence of a famous law professor such as Godefroy, to attract a greater number of students. Godefroy was at that point in Strasbourg. The magistrates' attempts to get him to return to Geneva

¹⁶⁶ RC 82, fol. 211, 20 November 1587.

¹⁶⁷ RC 82, fol. 223, 10 December 1587.

¹⁶⁸ RCP V, 6 September 1588, p. 206.

¹⁶⁹ RCP V, 14 June 1588, p. 196 footnote.

¹⁷⁰ RC 84, fol. 70, 2 April 1589.

¹⁷¹ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, p. 290.

¹⁷² RC 87, fol. 92 bis, 5 May 1592.

¹⁷² RC 87, fol. 163-4, 15 August 1592.

founded because of his demands for a salary higher than Geneva could afford. The magistrates let Godefroy know that they could not hire him under his conditions, but stated that 'we are willing to continue providing for the teaching of law through the means which God will give us'.¹⁷³ With Lect and Colladon, the Small Council was able to ensure that law would be taught in the Academy, though it still looked for another professor from outside.

In June 1595, the magistrates made renewed efforts to have Godefroy return to teach law in the schola publica, but their proposals were not enough to attract him.¹⁷⁴ Instead, the magistrates agreed to have Pacius, who had returned from Heidelberg and Sedan, teach in the schola publica once more, on the condition that he accept a similar salary to that of his colleagues, namely around 500 florins a year.¹⁷⁵ Though Pacius accepted the post, he did not accept the salary level, and during May 1596, he negotiated with the civic authorities for a better deal.

On 3 May 1596, he offered to do 4 lectures a week in law and 2 in logic in return for 1500 florins and a payment in wheat.¹⁷⁶ The ministers, however, were not keen to see Pacius teaching logic, an area considered to be the domain of philosophy. So the magistrates offered Pacius 1200 florins to do the four law lectures alone. On 7 May, Pacius protested vehemently, so the earlier offer of 1500 florins and 20 measures of wheat was repeated. On 12 May, Pacius was still unhappy, so both sides agreed that for 1500 florins and 30 measures of wheat, he would do 4 lectures in law and 3 in logic per week. Finally, on 14 May Pacius agreed to the offer, but requested his first quarter's salary in advance, and indicated that it would be better for the students to have 3 lectures a week in law and 4 in logic.¹⁷⁷ In the end, though Pacius was temporarily satisfied, the financial burden of his salary on the Genevan treasury was such that Lect was unable to restart his law lectures in the autumn of 1596 because the Genevan magistrates could not afford to pay his salary. In spite of his protests, Lect was dismissed, leaving only Pacius and Colladon.¹⁷⁸ Whether the Genevan magistrates' priorities had been the right ones in opting to keep Pacius and to sacrifice Lect's teaching is debatable, particularly since in the early months of 1597, having been refused another raise, Pacius resigned and went to Nîmes.¹⁷⁹ Lect, however, was not reinstated upon Pacius's departure, in spite of

¹⁷³ RC 87, fol. 163-4, 15 August 1592.

¹⁷⁴ RC 90, fol. 114, 13 June 1595.

¹⁷⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 291-2.

¹⁷⁶ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 292-3.

¹⁷⁷ RC 91, fol. 88, 4 May 1596; fol. 90, 7 May 1596; fol. 93, 12 May 1596; fol. 93, 14 May 1596.

¹⁷⁸ RC 91, fol. 149, 3 August 1596; fol. 170, 4 September 1596.

¹⁷⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 294-5.

requests from Beza in particular to that effect, and had to wait until 1600 to be given the authorisation to teach once more.

Though the evidence from the history of the schola publica's chairs from 1587 to 1599 was one of gradual decline, the number of those matriculating in the schola publica remained relatively strong, totalling 450 students over the 13 year period. It is possible that in certain cases where a more renowned scholar was replaced by a less well-known, perhaps local scholar, the impact of the change only had repercussions over a longer space of time. In other words, the long-term impact of magisterial and ministerial educational policies in the 1590s on students might only be visible after the turn of the century. The delayed effect of educational policies on student numbers is seen in reverse in the first few years after the schola publica was restored following the blockade by Savoy. Although the chairs of the schola publica were filled and their incumbents were lecturing, student numbers remained well below 20 matriculations a year until 1592. The high point of the period was in 1598, when 117 students matriculated. The magistrates' ongoing efforts to provide law courses in order to attract northern European students continued to be successful. The diversity of students' places of origin was manifest, especially in the 1590s, as the number of French students declined, and the number of Germans in particular increased. In 1593, out of 42 matriculated students, 30 came from the German states, whereas only 3 came from France, and in 1594, out of 49 students, 23 came from the German states, 8 from the northern Netherlands, 6 from Denmark, 4 from Switzerland, and only 3 from France.

The diversity seen in the students' places of origin was matched by the growing diversity of the students' later careers. For instance, 7 students who matriculated in the schola publica in 1595 went on to become ministers, whereas 11 entered careers in the civil service or politics. In 1597, out of the 82 students whose later career is known, 24 entered the ministry, 19 took on civil service posts, 15 inherited titles of nobility, and 9 held civic posts. [Graphs 8 and 9]

The fluctuation in overall student numbers is due in part at least to the ongoing difficulties faced by the Genevan authorities in getting students, especially from the German states, to matriculate. As matriculation gave the authorities a list of students' names and places of origin, and also tied students to certain standards of behaviour through the academic oath, it is not surprising that both the magistrates and the ministers insisted that all students were to matriculate. On 26 November 1588, the Small Council declared that all students had to matriculate as was done in other universities.¹⁸⁰ On 26 April 1596, the Company of Pastors sent to the Small

¹⁸⁰ RC 83, fol. 213-14, 26 November 1588.

Council a list of obligations to be fulfilled by those coming to study in Geneva, and by these students' landlords. The landlords were to make sure they presented their boarders to the chief syndic as soon as possible after their arrival.¹⁸¹ On 14 May of the same year, the matriculation procedures were challenged by some students, whose place of origin was not indicated. These students claimed that to appear before the magistrates to matriculate went against the procedure followed in other universities, where students appeared before the rector at matriculation. The Small Council compromised by asking students to matriculate in the presence of the rector of the Academy and of the scholars, who represented the interests of the magistrates in the Academy.¹⁸²

Disciplinary matters remained one of the chief problems for the authorities of the Genevan Church and state to deal with. Once again it was the students' lack of observance of the Genevan ordinances that caused most of the problems. On 20 August 1593, the ministers complained that several of the German students were dressing like princes and kings, angering their parents who thought Geneva was a well-ordered and well-disciplined city. The magistrates replied soothingly that while the German students would not be forced to confess their wrong-doings, they were to obey the rules of the city and matriculate. The magistrates also promised to co-operate with the rector.¹⁸³ However, such statements did not always have the desired effect, since the ministers appeared before the Small Council again on 19 November 1593. The ministers stated that they were at the end of their tether, as German students had been caught at night on the street without candles. They added that the students did not ask permission before going out.¹⁸⁴

Discipline problems aside, the main area of debate between the ministers and magistrates was that of the Academy's own funds, and the legacies which were to be paid into it. On 17 June 1588, the ministers pointed out that many legacies were still to be paid into the Academy's fund. The magistrates responded that any legacies would be handed to the rector once he had shown evidence to the procurator-general that the money was indeed due to the Academy.¹⁸⁵ On 22 January 1593, the ministers noted that the Small Council could do more to ensure that any legacies made to the Academy were actually paid by the heirs, for otherwise, that money

¹⁸¹ RC 91, fol. 83, 26 April 1596.

¹⁸² RC 91, fol. 94, 14 May 1596.

¹⁸³ RC 88, fol. 124-5, 20 August 1593.

¹⁸⁴ RC 88, fol. 170, 19 November 1593.

¹⁸⁵ RC 83, fol. 127, 17 June 1588.

would be lost to the Academy.¹⁸⁶ Though the Council agreed to have steps taken to remedy the situation, the problems which the Academy faced in collecting the money left to it in wills is illustrated by the case of the widow of Loys Blondin in May 1593. She had brought to the treasury about 800 florins that her husband owed to the Academy. However, instead of notifying the rector that such funds had come in, the magistrates decided, 'Given that Messieurs are lacking funds at present to pay their soldiers, it is agreed that this money should go to cover war costs, and that we should give the widow her receipt'.¹⁸⁷

Between 1572 and 1599, the Genevan schola publica's development and expansion, encouraged by certain ecclesiastical and magisterial leaders, was hindered both by external and internal problems. Most fundamentally, the Genevan schola publica suffered because of its hybrid status. Certain changes adopted by the magistracy brought it into line with university practice, such as the appointment of scholars, and the introduction of an academic seal and of a student oath, but in other ways, the schola publica remained tied to its roots in the Genevan Reformed church and in ministerial training. In a sense, the fundamental problem was that while the Genevan authorities, both ecclesiastical and lay, wanted the Genevan schola publica to be a centre of learning with an international stature, they were unwilling or unable to give it the independence and financial support necessary for it to play that role. The authorities' commitment to their Academy was put to its most severe test at times of internal or external crisis. Both the plague of 1574, and the crisis with the Duke of Savoy imposed severe strains on the entire civil community, and made it difficult to lead a normal life. In this situation, the Academy was bound to suffer. The crisis with Savoy not only placed severe financial strains on the city, but the Duke's blockade made Geneva a perilous place to be, and this cut off the flow of students from outside. The authorities could not be blamed for the vicissitudes suffered by the Academy, in common with other Genevan civil institutions at such times, but moments of crisis did reveal the differing priorities of lay and ecclesiastical authorities with particular clarity. In 1586, the ministers wanted to keep the schola publica functioning at almost any cost: for them the Academy was the ultimate symbol of the city's contribution to the international struggle against Catholicism. For the magistrates, however, the professoriat was ultimately expendable, certainly more so than the ministers, who performed essential civil functions. In the last resort, this lack of commitment reveals the essential limitation of the magistracy to their own vision of an academy, which they saw more as an

¹⁸⁶ RC 88, fol. 14, 22 January 1593.

¹⁸⁷ RC 88, fol. 65, 1 May 1593.

adornment to the city than part of its life-blood. If anything, the first twenty years of the 17th century only accentuated the growing difficulties of the schola publica.

Chapter V: 1600-1620: Decline

On 1 January 1600, Theodore Beza, the aged chief minister of Geneva, appeared before the Genevan Small Council to wish the magistrates well for a new year and a new century. He also exhorted them 'to continue to be full of zeal for the glory of God, pointing out to them in detail that the teaching of law is essential and profitable for this city, and that the Seigneur Lect, who taught law successfully in the past, could take it up once more, to the great advantage and honour of this state'.¹ The juxtaposition of zeal for God's glory and the need to restart the law courses mirrors some of the tensions which existed in the Genevan schola publica at the turn of the century. The earlier vision and purpose of the schola publica was changing, both because of internal conflicts and external constraints. A discussion of the nature and impact of the schola publica in the early 17th century must, therefore, detail first of all the state of affairs in the Academy at the time, before turning to some of the events and conflicts which led to the growing regionalisation of the Genevan schola publica in the context of international Calvinist higher education.

At the turn of the century, the Genevan schola publica had in theory chairs in Hebrew, Greek, arts, theology and civil law. However, from 1600 onwards, some of the chairs were vacant for a number of years or were amalgamated with one another.

The chair of Greek was the only one that did not change hands during the first twenty years of the 17th century, since it was held from 1597 to 1633 by Gaspard Laurent. In spite of his longevity as professor of Greek, it does not seem that Laurent did much to continue his predecessor Isaac Casaubon's interest in the humanist study of Greek, although Laurent did edit and translate into Latin one of Hermogenes' works. Primarily, Laurent is known more as a theologian and philosopher than as a Hellenist, entering into written debates with a Spanish Jesuit, Gregory of Valentia, as well as writing a work on the art of public debates in matters of religion.²

The chair of Hebrew, the focus of which had always been the Old Testament, became tied to the chair of theology during the early years of the 17th century. In other words, at various times, one of the professors of theology was also professor of Hebrew. From 1595 to 1606, the Genevan-born Jean Diodati held both chairs. As Diodati's chief focus lay in theology, the Hebrew lectures suffered from lack of interest, both on his part and on the part of the students. On 20 July 1604, the

¹ RC 94, fol. 146, 1 January 1600.

² Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 219-20.

Company of Pastors noted, 'It has been brought to our attention by the students' complaints and those of Messieurs [the magistrates] that the theology school is lacking something, particularly because there is no teaching in Hebrew. This displeases the students and dishonours the Academy'.³ After a fruitless search for a foreign Hebrew professor, the Company of Pastors recommended Theodore Tronchin, a Genevan, to the magistrates as professor of Hebrew. Because the Small Council was concerned about Tronchin's youth and lack of experience, since he was only 24 in 1606, he was asked to teach for a trial period of three months for free, beginning in May 1606.⁴ On 13 October 1606, Tronchin was accepted by the magistrates as professor of Hebrew, though he only began receiving his salary in January 1607.⁵ Tronchin taught Hebrew alone until 1615, when he became professor of theology alongside Jean Diodati. As Diodati had done, Tronchin then lectured both in theology and in Hebrew until 1618, at which point he was called away from Geneva by the Synod of Dordrecht, which he attended along with Diodati as delegates of the Genevan church. In Tronchin's absence, David Le Clerc was appointed as professor of Hebrew, lecturing for free during 1618-9, and receiving a salary for his Hebrew lectures from 1619 until 1654.⁶ Le Clerc's appointment restored Hebrew to the status of an independent chair, but the fourteen-year period during which Hebrew had been amalgamated with theology was a considerable one. The fusing of the two chairs under one professor was due to the difficulty which the Genevan ministers and magistrates faced in trying to attract a professor of Hebrew alone. Yet to make Hebrew simply into a section of theology was to diminish Hebrew's standing as a subject in its own right, and to make it even more a tool of theological teaching.

During the first twenty years of the 17th century, the chair of arts was also transformed. After Trembley's departure in 1595, Esaie Colladon taught alone in arts until 1606, when he was joined by François de Bons, who had taught in Nîmes.⁷ From that point on, the division of the arts lectures into two halves continued during the first part of the 17th century. Esaie Colladon taught his half until his death in 1611, when he was succeeded by the minister Gaspard Alexius from eastern Switzerland, who served in Geneva until his recall to the Engadin as a minister in 1617.⁸ Nicholas Wedel, from the Palatinate, who had graduated in philosophy from

³ RCP IX, 20 July 1604, p. 33.

⁴ RC 102, fol. 135-6, 12 May 1606.

⁵ RC 102, fol. 225, 13 October 1606.

⁶ Borgeaud, *Histoire*, pp. 364-6.

⁷ RCP IX, 10 October 1606, pp. 213-14.

⁸ RCP X, 24 March 1609, pp. 146-7, p. 147 footnote.

the university of Heidelberg, took over from Alexius from 1618 until 1630.⁹ In the second half, François de Bons took on the arts course in 1606 together with teaching in law until 1611, and then lectured in arts alone from 1611 until 1614. From then on, the second half of the arts course changed hands often, since Ami de Chapeaurouge, a Genevan, taught from 1615 to 1616, succeeded by Johannes Steckius from Basle, who also lasted only a year, and who combined his arts lecturing with lecturing in law, and finally, by Abel de la Roche, who lectured in arts from 1617 to 1623.¹⁰ In twenty years, taking into account the splitting of the arts course, the chairs had still had seven incumbents. So many changeovers meant that continuity was difficult to maintain.

The chairs of law were the ones which dwindled most rapidly during the first twenty years of the seventeenth century. Before 1600, the chairs of law had already been reduced from their peak of three in 1584 to two. The two remaining chairs of law were held by Lect and David Colladon. By 1605, David Colladon stopped lecturing altogether upon his accession to the Small Council. He was replaced in 1606 by François de Bons, who, as noted earlier, combined his law lectures with those in arts until 1611, when he turned his entire attention to the latter subject. By 1611, law teaching had come to a standstill in the Genevan schola publica, since in the same year, Lect died. Neither de Bons nor Lect was immediately replaced. After a hiatus of five years, the law courses were then restarted, tentatively at first by Johannes Steckius, and then, after a two-year gap, by Jacques Godefroy, son of Denis Godefroy who had taught law in Geneva a generation earlier. Jacques Godefroy held the chair of law from 1619 until 1652.

The teaching of theology fared best in the schola publica during the first years of the 17th century. Antoine de La Faye, who had taught alongside Beza since 1581, continued to teach after Beza's death in 1605 until 1610. La Faye was then succeeded by Gaspard Alexius, who lectured in theology until 1612, when he switched to teaching in arts. Alexius in turn was succeeded by Benedict Turretini, who had a long teaching career ahead of him, since he lectured in theology in the schola publica from 1612 until 1631. Parallel to La Faye's lectures, Jean Diodati also taught theology from 1599 to 1645, though he only taught intermittently during some years because of his poor health. Finally, in 1615 the number of theology professors increased by one, since Theodore Tronchin began lecturing, a post which he held until 1656.¹¹

⁹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 308.

¹⁰ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 640.

¹¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 640.

While in some fields the number of professors was on the increase, in other areas, that number was reduced, either through amalgamation or because of financial problems. Charles Borgeaud argued that Greek and arts in particular were affected by the transformation of the schola publica during the first decades of the 17th century, as it grew closer to a university model. He suggested that the arts and Greek lectures became preliminary subjects, operating at a lower level than theology or law. In other words, according to him, the Genevan schola publica was beginning to follow the university model of an arts faculty through which all students had to pass before they could go on to higher study in theology or law. According to Borgeaud, a further catalyst to these changes was a drop in standards in the schola privata. The drop in standards in the lower school led to pupils being admitted to the schola publica at a younger age and with less knowledge. Faced with such a situation, the professors of arts and Greek had to bring their lectures down to the new students' level, leading to a lowering of the teaching level in these two areas.¹²

The registers of the Company of Pastors and of the Small Council do bear out Borgeaud's argument, for on 24 February 1609, the Council complained to the Company of Pastors, 'the children are transferring too early from their classes to the public lectures'. The Company agreed with the magistrates' assessment, and recommended 'that the children should not be allowed to graduate so early from the schola privata, that in the highest class of the schola privata the children should receive better training in the rules of grammar, that when they do leave the schola privata, they should be compelled to attend the public lectures for two years, and that it is because of lack of strict supervision that many pupils are ill-disciplined'.¹³ On 23 May 1612, the ministers made further proposals to alter the structure of the schola publica, and suggested ways in which the practices and approach of the arts lectures in particular ought to be transformed. 'Simon Goulart and Gabriel Cusin, sent by the pastors, [...] discussed the state of the Academy, in which it seems impossible to them that one single professor should teach the entire philosophy course effectively. However, it is necessary and vital for all students, especially for those in theology, that the entire philosophy course, ethics, logic, physics, and metaphysics, should be completed in a year. Ultimately, there is a need for two professors, each doing the said course without interruption, one beginning with logic and the other with physics, to make it easier for students arriving at different times. In fact, the ministers request that any student admitted to study theology should have an attestation certifying that he completed the entire philosophy course.' The magistrates approved the ministers' plan 'that from now on there should be two

¹² Borgeaud, *Histoire*, pp. 392-7.

¹³ *RCP* X, 24 February 1609, pp. 140-1.

professors of philosophy in the Academy, each doing the entire philosophy curriculum without a break.¹⁴ In essence, the magistrates were only approving a division of the arts course which had begun the year before. The new feature was the ministers' recommendation that those intending to study theology should have an official document confirming that they had completed the arts course.

In 1616, the Company of Pastors went even further, and decided that the two current incumbents of the arts chairs, Alexius and Steckius, were to split the curriculum between them, Alexius lecturing on logic and Steckius on physics. In other words, each man would be teaching a half course, rather than the entire curriculum. In that way, students would be able to attend both series of lectures, and could thus go through the entire philosophy course in a year.¹⁵ Prior to 1612, in part because the schola publica did not offer any degrees, it was not compulsory for students to have completed a philosophy course before attending lectures in theology or law. That hierarchy between subjects was rather a feature of universities such as Heidelberg, where law, theology, and medicine constituted higher faculties, only accessible to those who had received an arts degree first.

The reasons behind the ministers and magistrates' interest in giving the schola publica a structure which had more in common with established universities require further discussion. On the one hand, as has been noted, the ministers' suggestion to have the arts lectures as a pre-requisite for theology and law may have been more a response to falling standards in the arts lectures of the schola publica rather than a deep-seated wish on the part of the Genevan religious authorities to conform to a university model. On the other hand, the Genevan authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, may have hoped that a curriculum structure resembling that of universities would attract and hold foreign students for longer than would an undirected course of lectures in arts. This move of the schola publica towards a structure more akin to that of a university can be tied to the magistrates' efforts between 1592 and 1599 to have France and the United Provinces recognise prospective Genevan degrees. In the final years of the 16th century, the magistrates were contemplating the possibility of the schola publica awarding degrees to its students. Such a move would have reinforced the schola publica's position in international Calvinist higher education. However, the king of France refused to consider the idea of Genevan degrees because of their threat to French universities.¹⁶

¹⁴ RC 109, fol. 120, 23 May 1612.

¹⁵ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 397.

¹⁶ Letters of Henry IV, 20 October 1592, in AEG, Mi A 33p, 2178.

In the end, in spite of support and encouragement from the members of the United Provinces, the Genevan magistrates did not pursue the idea of degrees any further.¹⁷

While the reasons for the transformation of the arts chairs are debatable, the impact of the arts and Greek chairs' lower status after 1612, the uncertainty facing the law chairs, whose existence was not guaranteed by the Academy's statutes, and the amalgamation of Hebrew with theology for fourteen years, led to theology becoming the dominant subject taught in the schola publica. The restructuring of the schola publica's chairs left theology in possession of the field, a state of affairs which would not have displeased those, particularly in the Company of Pastors, who felt that theology ought to be the focus of the schola publica. For instance, on 16 April 1602, when Lect asked the Company's help to have his law lectures restarted, the ministers responded, 'Until now, we have not been involved in that field, and we would rather recommend theology'.¹⁸

The omnipresence of theology, the lower status of the chairs of arts and of ancient languages, and the long interruptions in the teaching of law could have led to a drop in student numbers, especially since the vacant chairs, or those which changed hands often would not have held much appeal for students. And yet between 1600 and 1620, 1161 students matriculated in the schola publica, an average of 55 students each year. Enrolments fluctuated from 24 in 1603, to 104 students in 1618. The average number of students matriculating each year in Geneva during the first two decades of the 17th century compares with an annual average matriculation of 16 in Lausanne's academy, though its official matriculation list began only in 1602, and with an average of 167 students per year in the same period in the university of Heidelberg.

An examination of the students' place of origin in the first twenty years of the 17th century reveals the ongoing importance of those from France and from the German states. Those who indicated that they came from Geneva itself also increased in number, providing evidence both of the continuing importance of the Genevan institution for the training of its own young people, and of the growing regionalisation of the schola publica. For example, while in 1600, newly-matriculated Genevan students only made up 5.9% of the student body, by 1604, this percentage had risen to 10.1%, by 1607, it had risen to 14.4%, by 1613 to 22.4%, and by 1620, it had stabilised at 20% of the total number of students.

As for the students' later careers, until approximately 1603, the number of nobles and of those entering the civil service continued to run parallel to or even

¹⁷ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 163-4.

¹⁸ RCP VIII, 16 April 1602, p. 140.

slightly above the number of those entering the ministry. After that, however, the proportion of those becoming ministers increased compared with those entering lay careers. In 1600, while 10 students entered the ministry, 11 entered the civil service and 13 took up their place in the nobility. In 1602, 11 students became civil servants, 10 inherited noble titles, while only 6 entered the ministry. By 1606, 19 students became ministers, while only 9 inherited noble titles and 8 entered the civil service. In 1612, 20 students entered the ministry, while only 5 became civil servants, and 3 took their places in the nobility. By 1618, later careers included 28 ministers, while 13 were civil servants. One can suggest that the gradual resurgence of those studying for the ministry was not only due to an increased interest on the part of students in ecclesiastical vocations, but simply that the Genevan schola publica was slowly ceasing to attract those who had come because of its renowned professors in subjects such as law. [Graphs 10 and 11]

In spite of the continued presence of a reasonably-sized body of students, the Genevan schola publica from the turn of the century onwards appeared to have lost its impetus. Its hesitant efforts to bring its curriculum and practices closer to those of contemporary universities, balanced against the continued importance given to ministerial training, seem to give it a hybrid character, unclear in which direction it was heading. This lack of direction had several root causes. On the one hand, there was no clear successor to Theodore Beza, Geneva's chief minister since Calvin's death in 1564. Beza had been the Academy's backbone, and had pioneered the hiring of professors of law and medicine.¹⁹ By 1600, Beza was in his seventies, and increasingly crippled by deafness. He could no longer really watch over the schola publica and give to it some of his vision of Geneva as an international centre of learning. In 1605, his death left the Genevan church and Academy without a leader. Various men, such as the ministers Antoine de La Faye and Simon Goulart were possible successors to Beza as leaders of the Genevan Company of Pastors, but none could take Beza's place as unofficial head of the Academy. Clearly, the lack of a strong leader had something to do with the schola publica's loss of direction.

On the other hand, precisely because there was no clearly acknowledged head of the Academy nor of the Genevan church immediately after Beza's death, conflict broke out among various ministers and magistrates as to the person or persons who were to inherit Beza's mantle. Hence, the development and progress of the schola publica following Beza's death was hampered by the bickering going on between the different interest groups. On 14 January 1606, for instance, the magistrates discovered that the rector was allowing students to matriculate without having them

¹⁹ Geisendorf, L'Université de Genève, pp. 37-41.

swear the oath of obedience to the magistracy, a vital measure which reinforced the power of the magistrates in the Academy's life. The Small Council decided that the scholars should intervene to rectify the situation.²⁰ On 1 May 1607, before the yearly promotions, the ceremonies marking the passage of pupils in the schola privata from one class to the next, the magistrates informed the Company of Pastors that the benediction at the ceremony was to be given by Simon Goulart, the moderator of the Company for 1607, rather than by Antoine de La Faye, who had acquired the title 'First professor of theology'. The Company protested that in the past the benediction had been given by the most senior professor of theology, but the magistrates refused to change their minds, and even sent two of their number to see La Faye, to warn him of their decision.²¹ In 1609, La Faye clashed again with the Small Council, this time over the wine which he believed he was entitled to as foremost professor of theology. The magistrates responded 'Given that he is not carrying such a heavy preaching load as he was before, and that he receives 100 florins more than the other professors, and that there has not been any wine stored in the Hospital this year, it is agreed that La Faye will have to make do with what he has'.²² None of these entries deal with very grave matters, but they do show friction between the civil and ecclesiastical powers regarding the role of various individuals and groups within the Academy.

Because no strong leader emerged among the Genevan ministers after Beza's death, the Company as a whole was less cohesive, and thus less able to oppose the Small Council's suggestions and requests, particularly in educational affairs, over which both bodies had jurisdiction. As well, because the Company of Pastors was weaker, magisterial interventions in the affairs of the Academy and the Church were on the increase, particularly in areas which the ministers had considered until then to be their domain. At the same time, gaps in personnel, both for the schola publica and for the Genevan church put pressure on existing ministers and professors to carry a greater load.

In September 1606, Jean Pinault, who had been the minister of the church of La Madeleine in Geneva, died. The Company of Pastors' preferred solution, which it had used before, was to appoint one of Geneva's rural ministers to the vacant city pulpit, even if only temporarily, since in 1606 plans were afoot to have the minister Jean Chauve return from France to take up the ministry in Geneva.²³ The magistrates, however, had a different solution to the vacancy in mind. In their eyes,

²⁰ RC 102, fol. 10, 14 January 1606.

²¹ RCP X, 1 May 1607, pp. 16-17, p. 17 footnote.

²² RC 106, fol. 210, 29 November 1609.

²³ RCP IX, 12 September 1606, p. 204, and footnote.

there was no reason for Jean Diodati, professor of theology, and Gaspard Laurent, professor of Greek, not to fulfil ministerial duties as well as their academic ones. The magistrates stated, 'While waiting for our brother [Jean Chauve] we could easily fill the vacancy in La Madeleine by ordaining Messieurs Diodati and Laurent, whose teaching presents no bar to the holy ministry. Indeed, since they have given sufficient proof of their capacity and ability in the congrégation, we feel that they would be able to serve [as ministers] without problems'.²⁴ In the case of Diodati at least, the magistrates had historical precedent on their side, since both Calvin and Beza had combined their bi-weekly theology lectures with their duties as pastors of Geneva. In contrast, in 1576, Lambert Daneau had become the first professor of theology not to be a practising minister at the same time. In his case, the abandonment of pastoral responsibilities had been due to ill-health. However, his example was followed by some of his successors, including Lignaridus and Diodati, who were professors of theology alone.

The magistrates' suggestion to ordain Diodati and Laurent did not meet with the approval of the Company of Pastors, still less of the two men concerned. On 19 September 1606, the Company asked Diodati and Laurent for their reaction to the plan. 'They declared that they could not contemplate nor consider such a task, especially since it would involve not only preaching God's Word but also doing the visiting'.²⁵ In other words, because of the onerous nature of Genevan ministry, Laurent and Diodati were unwilling to be ordained. In the end, the ministers managed to have the magistrates agree to interim ministers from the countryside for the vacant Genevan city parish, in spite of the magistrates' complaints that the ministers were 'stubbornly opposing their wishes', particularly in the matter of Diodati's ordination.²⁶

Nevertheless, the transfer of ministers from rural areas to city parishes did not reduce the number of vacancies but simply changed their location. At the same time, several of Geneva's most prominent ministers were getting older. In 1606, Jean Jacquemot and Simon Goulart were 63, Charles Perrot was 65, and Antoine de La Faye was 66. These ageing ministers, though they held pulpits, preached, and were active in the Company of Pastors, were slowed down by the weight of years, and would need to be replaced by other, younger men within a short period of time.

In January 1607, it was the Company of Pastors who broached the subject of ordination with Diodati. He refused on the grounds of ill-health and because of the various duties which kept him too busy at the time, though he did hint at his

²⁴ RCP IX, 15 September 1606, p. 206.

²⁵ RCP IX, 19 September 1606, p. 210.

²⁶ RCP IX, 13 October 1606, pp. 212-13, p. 213 footnote.

willingness to be ordained at a later date.²⁷ In 1608, the magistrates resurrected the scheme, because of continuing vacancies in the ministerial ranks. This time, the professors suggested were Diodati and Theodore Tronchin, who was professor of Hebrew at the time. The Small Council reminded the ministers that 'preaching and teaching are not incompatible'.²⁸ For their part, the ministers were aware of the weight of pastoral duties, as they noted, 'It is not proper nor reasonable to establish a volunteer or honorary ministry, since that would not only demean the charge, but would also be of little help. Since entering the ministry involves swearing an oath, being presented officially, and other customary formalities, ministry cannot be a part-time occupation. If our brothers do enter the ministry, they will have to supervise the dizaines, attend the Consistory on the set days, and fulfil all the aspects of ministry. It is agreed that we should inform them of all this, and find out their inclination and wishes in this matter'.²⁹ It seems that while the Company was beginning to see the potential benefit of professors who were also ministers in terms of staffing, it was still hesitant about giving the professors a double load of duties. Diodati and Tronchin's main concern was the amount of practical work which the ministry required. Tronchin in fact refused to be ordained, though he said that he would have been willing to enter the ministry, had it not been for various unspecified difficulties. Diodati, for his part, agreed to serve as a minister, but not in the immediate future because of urgent business. He also added that his goal in the course of his studies had been the ministry. Furthermore, he asked to be called legitimately to the ministry by the Company of Pastors, rather than by the civil powers, and to be given few ministerial duties because of his work as professor of theology.³⁰

On 15 July 1608, the Company decided to ask Tronchin to lead the Sunday catechism sessions. The ministers pointed out, 'This will be even easier for him in that he will not have any other duties of ministry except for occasional baptisms and the catechism, without being assigned to any parish or having any dizaines to supervise. He will not even need to be presented to Messieurs or to the people, because he will not have a full and complete ministry, though we will notify Messieurs and ask them to approve the provision made by the Company'.³¹ In spite of the Company's earlier concerns about a part-time ministry, the ministers in July

²⁷ RCP X, 2 January 1607, p. 4.

²⁸ RCP X, 17 June 1608, p. 87.

²⁹ RCP X, 24 June 1608, p. 91. The dizaines were units of the Genevan population. Each unit had a dizenier who watched over his unit's morals and also acted as a link to the Genevan social services.

³⁰ RCP X, 24 June 1608, p. 92.

³¹ RCP X, 15 July 1608, p. 97.

1608 seemed to want to use Tronchin in a ministerial capacity, but only for the catechisms. Clearly, leading the catechism service would not be as time-consuming as being the incumbent of a parish, but it does indicate something of the problems the Company of Pastors was facing, in terms of numbers of ministers, that it had to turn to the Hebrew professor of the Genevan schola publica to provide pastoral assistance at a relatively low level. On 22 July 1608, Tronchin accepted the invitation to lead catechism sessions in La Madeleine.³²

By November 1608, Diodati and Tronchin had bowed to pressure from the Company and agreed to become ministers. On 2 December 1608, after Diodati had preached twice at Saint Pierre, and after the Small Council had approved the admission of both men to the Genevan ministry, the Company decided to announce to the people on the following Sunday that Diodati and Tronchin had become ordinary ministers of the Genevan church.³³ The only discordant note came from Tronchin, who was still not happy about taking on a full load of ministerial duties. He 'protested that he did not wish, and had not promised to tie himself to the ministry, nor to fulfil all the duties attached to it, nor to bind himself to the ministry by oath'. The Company responded 'As for the oath, our brother can detail to Messieurs the exceptions that he wants put in, so that his conscience may be less burdened. As well, as regards the duties of ministry, our brother will not be forced nor constrained to fulfil them against his will'.³⁴

Hence, it would seem that the Genevan magistrates and ministers had managed to fill some of the vacant Genevan pulpits by employing the talents of the schola publica's professors. Yet on the strength of future developments, it does not seem that Diodati and Tronchin were made to swear the ministerial oath in 1608, nor to take on much more than occasional preaching and catechetical duties, for in 1611, the debates over professors of the schola publica becoming ministers resurfaced once more. In a response to a request by the Small Council for a minister for Chêne, one of Geneva's rural parishes, the Company of Pastors noted on 7 November 1611 that there was a lack of ministers who could help, Jacquemot and La Faye because of their age, and Diodati and Tronchin 'because they are busy teaching theology'.³⁵

The Company was not willing to consider the professors' move to a rural parish, even though it had been done in the past, as Lambert Daneau was originally a minister in the rural parish of Vandoeuvres and a professor of theology in the

³² RCP X, 22 July 1608, p. 99 and footnote.

³³ RCP X, 2 December 1608, p. 124.

³⁴ RCP X, 2 December 1608, p. 124.

³⁵ RC 108, fol. 282, 7 November 1611. In fact, Tronchin was lecturing in Hebrew, not in theology.

schola publica. But by the first decades of the 17th century, the situation had changed. Whereas the earliest professors of theology had been ministers first and professors second, the situation was later reversed, so that even in the eyes of the Company, who had a lot to gain from an increase in the number of full-time ministers, Diodati and Tronchin were professors first, and ministers second. On 30 June 1612, the ministers appeared before the Small Council to declare, 'The Seigneurs do not wish to increase the number of ministers presently at work in this church, as much to save public money on salaries as because there are several professors who could take on some of the duties of the pastorate. However, even though we have examined all these reasons carefully, we find it impossible to take the professors away from their teaching and from the Academy. After all, the Academy is no less important to public welfare than is the church, and the Academy requires almost as much care as does the church itself. As well, the professors could not be expected to do the parish visits. All they could do would be to relieve some of the other ministers of a few sermons'.³⁶ The magistrates were unimpressed by the ministers' arguments, and in order to control the professors' performance of their pastoral duties, insisted in November 1612 that Diodati and Tronchin should take the ministerial oath of service. Diodati and Tronchin protested however that they had already sworn oaths of obedience as professors, and that they felt their first oath would suffice. The Council records reported, 'they do not want to undertake everything which the ministers' oath entails, such as visiting the sick, inspecting the dizaines and attending consistory meetings'. They added that they were willing to preach, but nothing more, for 'they declared that they feel tied to their prior obligation [teaching] as the principal one, and that they cannot take on two full work-loads'.³⁷ The magistrates still insisted that the two men swear the ministerial oath but added that Diodati and Tronchin would not have to visit the sick, oversee the dizaines or deal with the Consistory. In a sense, the magistrates' move was less an attempt to get Tronchin and Diodati to provide ministerial assistance, since they had already begun to do so in 1608, but rather was designed to control the assistance which the two men did provide, and to tie their services even more closely to the civil authorities.

By 1615, the Company of Pastors appeared to have accepted the situation as an inevitable one, given the desperate shortage of ministers in the Genevan church. Nonetheless, the Company of Pastors did point out to the Small Council on 29 September 1615 that 'as soon as it pleases God to deliver us from this infectious plague, the professors of theology presently serving as ministers will have to return

³⁶ RC 109, fol. 164, 30 June 1612.

³⁷ RC 110, fol. 65, 28 November 1612.

to their teaching, especially since it will be difficult to find quickly a well-known professor to replace M. de La Faye'.³⁸ La Faye had died of the plague earlier in the year.

The conflict between ministers, professors, and magistrates over the role and duties which the schola publica's professors of theology could undertake is telling in many respects. On the one hand, the magistrates won the day, signalling how much the power of the Company of Pastors was on the wane. According to the Ecclesiastical Ordinances, it was the Company of Pastors which was to examine candidates, and designate the most suitable ones to the Small Council for veto or approval. However, in the case of Laurent, Diodati, and Tronchin, the magistrates did not hesitate to intervene to designate men they considered to be suitable ministers and to enforce magisterial authority by having Diodati and Tronchin take the ministerial oath over the protests of the unwilling professors. On the other hand, in spite of its need for ministers, the Company of Pastors insisted on the importance of the professors for the schola publica and did not feel that the schola publica's professors ought to be used as a reservoir of full-time talent for the Genevan church.

Apart from the lack of personnel for the Genevan church and schola publica, both the magistrates and ministers had to face the lack of public funds. Indeed, the two problems were linked, for a lack of financial resources could and did lead to choices being made in terms of personnel. To a large extent, the choices that were made reflected the aims of those who held the public purse strings, namely of the magistrates. From their choices, one can discern more clearly the role which the schola publica held in their eyes as compared with the perspective of the Company of Pastors. The resolutions of the Small Council from 1600 onwards sometimes supported the maintenance of the schola publica's courses or their expansion. The magistrates were kept informed about developments elsewhere, so that one of the reasons for the decision to reinstate Jacques Lect's law course on 15 January 1600 was that the Bernese magistrates were intending to establish a chair of law in the nearby Academy of Lausanne.³⁹ Political and financial problems could also push the magistrates towards a more conservative approach. By 1602, Lect's law course had been cancelled. When he asked to be reinstated on 29 March 1602, Lect was told that the political situation was too unsettled to permit him to start lecturing again.⁴⁰ On 5 April 1602, Lect asked again to be reinstated. The magistrates told him that if no war had begun by May of the same year, he could begin to lecture again, doing 3

³⁸ RC 114, fol. 247, 29 September 1615.

³⁹ RC 95, fol. 9, 15 January 1600.

⁴⁰ RC 96, fol. 43, 29 March 1602.

lectures a week for 800 florins a year and a payment in wheat.⁴¹ But when Denis Godefroy, law professor in Geneva between 1585 and 1589 applied to return to Geneva as professor of law in 1603, he was turned down, even though he offered to come for half the salary he was receiving in Strasbourg. The Small Council decided 'That we should not take a decision on this matter at this time, given that the public purse is empty'.⁴² When on 26 November 1604, the Small Council was notified by the ministers that Isaac Casaubon might be persuaded to return, the magistrates decreed that the ministers were to find out whether Casaubon would be willing to come to Geneva for the same salary which he had received eight years before. Once again, in spite of Casaubon's international reputation and his potential to attract students to Geneva, budgetary considerations prevailed. Because of the higher salaries required by professors of international calibre, and because of their greater mobility, the Genevan magistrates continued to prefer local candidates for professorial chairs. On 3 September 1606, when Jacques Lect proposed François de Bons, from Nîmes, as a possible professor of law for Geneva's *schola publica*, the Small Council decided 'to leave this matter for the moment, and if possible, to find someone from this city'.⁴³

In 1611, the death of Esaie Colladon left the chair of philosophy vacant. The ministers suggested as replacement Johannes Steckius from Basle, who was serving the Bernese as professor of philosophy in the Academy of Lausanne at the time. The ministers even suggested that to allay any suspicions on the part of the Bernese authorities that the Genevans were snatching their staff, Steckius could hand in his resignation, and then after an appropriate period, he could be approached innocently by the Genevan Company of Pastors for their vacant post in philosophy. The cautious magistrates decided to consider the matter for a few days.⁴⁴ A month later, the vacancy in philosophy was filled by transfers of the Genevan *schola publica*'s own professors from one field to another to fill as many gaps as possible. The result of the moves was that a new professor of theology was needed. The ministers suggested Benedict Turretini, whom the magistrates accepted although he was asked to teach free of charge from November 1611 until 1612 because of his youth and lack of experience.⁴⁵ He was 23 at the time. Such a move saved the magistrates from

⁴¹ RC 96, fol. 47-8, 5 April 1602.

⁴² RC 99, fol. 1, 1 August 1603.

⁴³ RC 102, fol. 198, 3 September 1606.

⁴⁴ RC 108, fol. 226, 5 August 1611.

⁴⁵ RC 108, fol. 276, 4 November 1611.

having to pay an extra salary until 1612, when Turretini was officially appointed professor of theology and minister in Geneva.⁴⁶

The practice of having volunteer lecturers was one which the magistrates encouraged, both in order to test prospective professors' capacities and to economise on salaries. On 23 June 1612, after the official and salaried teaching of law had come to an end in the schola publica the year before, the magistrates encouraged Isaac Fabri, one of Geneva's magistrates, to give public law lectures for free for six months. As the chief syndic of Geneva noted, 'several foreigners would like there to be lectures and professors in law in this city, and we should encourage many Germans and others to come here'.⁴⁷ When one of the chairs of philosophy was vacant in 1615, the Small Council again showed its interest in having prospective professors lecture for free. When the ministers informed the chief syndic that several candidates had presented themselves for the vacant post, the Small Council decided to have all candidates lecture for free for six months, so that at the end of that trial period, the most able professor could be selected.⁴⁸ Finally, when on 22 January 1619, the ministers appeared before the magistrates to ask them to begin paying a salary to David Le Clerc, who had already been teaching Hebrew for free for six months, the magistrates decided instead to extend Le Clerc's trial period by another three months.⁴⁹

The magistrates' approach to staffing the schola publica thus seems to have focused on ways to reduce salary costs, whether they encouraged the amalgamation of duties by professors, or the hiring of local Genevans over the hiring of foreign intellectuals, or the use of volunteer lecturers. All of these tactics helped to reduce Genevan public expenditure, but the measures would not have helped increase the international reputation of the Genevan Academy and indeed, were part of the reason for the growing number of Genevan professors in the schola publica.

At times, however, the magistrates did take decisions intended to enhance the stature of the Genevan schola publica. The Small Council was well aware of the sorry state of the Academy in certain years when chairs stood vacant for long periods. For their part, the ministers were quick to notify the magistrates when the former felt that more could be done by the civil authorities to help the schola publica flourish. On 5 October 1611, Simon Goulart, the leading minister of the Genevan church complained to the syndic de Châteauneuf, 'that the entire school is going

⁴⁶ Borgeaud, Histoire, p. 335.

⁴⁷ RC 110, fol. 156, 23 June 1612.

⁴⁸ RC 114, fol. 17, 14 January 1615.

⁴⁹ RC 118, fol. 19-20, 22 January 1619.

down the drain and that there is no professor of logic and physics'.⁵⁰ Three days later, the vacancy in arts was filled. The Small Council also knew the importance of continuing to attract international scholars as professors. On 5 April 1616, the Small Council proposed to the Council of Two Hundred that 'From now on, those appointed as regents or as officials or to any other similar charge will have to be citizens, for it is only just that according to the freedoms of the city, a citizen should be preferred to an habitant or a bourgeois when it comes to obtaining pensions and benefits from the public purse. However, these conditions do not apply to the posts of minister and professor, which are not affected by these constraints'.⁵¹ Thus the professors of the Genevan schola publica did not have to be citizens of Geneva, making it possible for the magistrates and ministers to continue considering non-Genevan candidates.

The magistrates' commitment to attracting outside scholars appears in the case of Johannes Steckius, the aforementioned professor of philosophy in the Academy of Lausanne. In 1616, Steckius accepted a post as professor of philosophy in the Genevan schola publica, and as the Genevan magistrates had agreed to pay his moving costs from Basle, he presented them with a bill for 900 florins. Rather staggered by the high sum, the Small Council asked the Chambre des Comptes to check for excessive costs, but otherwise agreed to pay him.⁵² Considering that in the same year, a Genevan city minister's annual salary was 900 florins, Steckius' moving expenses represented a very large amount of money.⁵³ Nevertheless, the Small Council covered that expense and Steckius' salary. Steckius added some law lectures to his arts lectures two months after his arrival. The Genevan magistrates accepted the arrangement, and undoubtedly were pleased about filling two vacancies with one man.⁵⁴ Their shock was all the greater, therefore, when less than a year after he had arrived, on 29 January 1617, Steckius handed in his resignation because he had been called to Berne as Commissioner General for the Pays de Vaud. The Small Council decided 'to accept his resignation [...] And we shall write to Messieurs of Berne that we had Steckius come to our city at our expense, hoping that he would serve our Academy for many years. Instead, he has taught only for a few months, but in order to help them and to show them our friendship, we have released him at

⁵⁰ RC 108, fol. 259, 5 October 1611.

⁵¹ RC 115, fol. 84, 5 April 1616.

⁵² RC 115, fol. 192, 27 July 1616.

⁵³ Bergier, 'Salaires des Pasteurs', p. 168.

⁵⁴ RC 115, fol. 256, 25 September 1616.

their request'.⁵⁵ Even when Geneva was both able and willing to attract non-Genevan professors, it could not retain them for long.

The Small Council even considered diversifying the courses on offer to increase the attractiveness of the schola publica to potential students, especially noble ones. On 13 November 1613, a certain Henry de la Maisonneuve came to present himself to the magistrates. The Small Council records stated, 'From Hamburg, riding master. He indicated that he has come to this city intending to live according to the evangelical reformation and to teach the art of horse-riding: he requested Messieurs to receive him as an habitant and to grant him some assistance because of his intentions [...] We have been informed that he is an expert riding-master and has excellent references and that having a riding-master would be both appropriate and useful for this city, in that many German nobles would come or would stay longer than they usually do, if they could learn how to be fine horsemen'. The Small Council decided to receive de la Maisonneuve as a habitant, to give him approximately 60 florins a month, and 10 measures of oats as a gift.⁵⁶ The magistrates' support for horse-riding courses as a means to attract more noble students to the Genevan Academy marks a departure from the scholarly offerings of the schola publica and indicates something of the magistrates' eagerness to attract the wealthier students. Calvin's aim had been to create a centre of learning for young men to become trained ministers and orthodox members of the Reformed churches. Beza had extended the schola publica's scope to include a wider variety of subjects, yet he kept it firmly in an intellectual mould. By the early years of the 17th century, the magistrates appeared to want to extend the range of courses even further to include the arts and talents necessary to become a model nobleman. In 1617, the Auditeur of Geneva proposed to the Council of Two Hundred that 'to attract foreign noblemen, the magistrates should hire riding-masters and fencing-masters'.⁵⁷ The same proposal was reiterated the following year, although no further action seems to have been taken to find riding and fencing instructors.⁵⁸ The magistrates' interest in subjects which were peripheral at best to the intellectual subjects offered by the schola publica speaks volumes both for the magistrates' aims and for the state of the schola publica. An attempt to increase Geneva's attractiveness to young nobles is understandable given that noble students, who often travelled with a large entourage, brought in a lot of money to the Genevan economy. The nobles had to feed and house their group, and could also be expected

⁵⁵ RC 116, fol. 24, 29 January 1617.

⁵⁶ RC 111, fol. 289, 13 November 1613.

⁵⁷ RC 116, fol. 36, 7 February 1617.

⁵⁸ RC 117, fol. 108, 1 May 1618.

to make donations to the schola publica. Attracting nobles made sound financial sense.

And yet, when noble students did come to Geneva, the magistrates sometimes found that they had bitten off more than they could chew. Geneva had no native nobility of its own. Hence, when the magistrates had to deal with noble students, particularly in a disciplinary capacity, the magistrates had little authority. Because Geneva was an academy, rather than a university, students had no immunity in cases of breaches of discipline or breaking of laws. Furthermore, Geneva's ordinances regarding appropriate behaviour, dress, and recreation were strict, and applied to the entire spectrum of the population. The records of the Small Council in the first decades of the 17th century contain a wealth of details on Geneva's noble students and on their dealings with the Genevan civil authorities.

The influence held by noble students was shown on 12 February 1610, when the four princes of Anhalt, who had been in Geneva since August 1608, asked the Small Council to grant a leave of absence of a month to Jean Diodati, so that he could accompany the princes to Lyon and Grenoble. The Council decided to grant their request.⁵⁹ Admittedly, a month's leave was not that long, but at the time, Diodati was professor of theology, and his absence made things difficult, since his colleague, La Faye, was growing old and increasingly unfit for teaching.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the magistrates put the princes' request ahead of the needs of the schola publica.

The magistrates were equally in a quandary when it came to disputes among noblemen. Geneva's discipline was strict, but enforcing it on recalcitrant young nobles, who were often used to greater freedom in other centres of learning, was sometimes difficult. On 31 March 1615, the Small Council records noted the quarrel that had erupted between an English baron, Edward Sackville, and the son of the governor of Hesse-Cassel. The son of the governor appears to have been particularly at fault, since in the course of the quarrel he persuaded a Danish friend to shoot at Sackville's lodgings with a harquebus, and then refused to appear before the Small Council to answer for his actions. In the end, the Danish student and the German were sent to jail, while Sackville was confined to his lodgings. Interestingly, the Genevan authorities also arrested Gabriel Fichet, the German student's landlord, for not having restrained his boarder.⁶¹ Because it was difficult for the Genevan authorities to prevent noble students from contravening Genevan ordinances or to punish them effectively after the fact, the onus was placed on the landlords to make

⁵⁹ RC 107, fol. 63, 12 February 1610.

⁶⁰ RC 107, fol. 63, 26 March 1610.

⁶¹ RC 114, fol. 76, 31 March 1615.

sure that their boarders behaved. Gabriel Fichet had a poor reputation in that regard, for already in 1609, he had been forbidden to house boarders after one of his two German boarders in that year got Fichet's maid pregnant.⁶² In order to lessen these problems, the Small Council had decided on 15 September 1609 that the leaders of the dizaines throughout the city were to forbid everyone to have boarders without permission, apart from the ministers, professors, and regents of the city.⁶³ Presumably it was hoped that the ministers and professors would be better able to control their charges, yet the edict remained without much effect, as can be seen in Fichet's case.

Tensions between students from different areas surfaced again on 10 April 1615, when another quarrel broke out, this time in Saint Pierre. It sprang up between a servant of some German noblemen, who was keeping places for them on the benches, and some French noblemen, who took some of those places. The French and German noblemen complained about each others' conduct, but the Council told them not to take offence at words or deeds unless they wanted to be punished.⁶⁴

Matters were even more delicate in the case of the Counts of Hodice, two brothers from Bohemia whose quarrel was with their tutor. He had been assigned to the boys by their guardian, Karel von Zerotin. On 21 August 1616, the brothers accused their tutor of excessive severity and strictness, and of having made fun of the Hodice family's recent accession to the nobility. The tutor admitted that he had lost his temper and thrashed the older boy because of his bad behaviour. The Council decided to separate the tutor and his charges, and to write to the Baron of Zerotin for advice on the matter.⁶⁵ One letter, from the Company of Pastors to Zerotin, is extant, dated 22 August 1616. The ministers detailed in their letter the steps which the magistrates had taken to separate the boys from their tutor, but urged Zerotin 'to give any orders which you judge necessary for the good of these young people'.⁶⁶ In other words, the ministers and magistrates felt they needed to receive Zerotin's instructions on the matter before going any further. Zerotin's answer has not been located, but matters failed to improve. On 6 September 1616, the magistrates noted that the younger of the two Counts was now causing trouble: 'the younger one is running wild. He plays games of chance at night by torch-light, wears military stripes on his arms and rings on his fingers, refuses to obey his tutor and says that the tutor can leave whenever he wants to. He is no longer continuing

⁶² RCP X, 29 December 1609, p. 176 and footnote.

⁶³ RC 106, fol. 174, 15 September 1609.

⁶⁴ RC 114, fol. 85, 10 April 1615.

⁶⁵ RC 115, fol. 234-5, 21 August 1616.

⁶⁶ BPU, Ms Fr 422, fol. 97, 22 August 1616.

his studies'. The magistrates decided to try to get him to obey his tutor, who was to treat him without undue harshness.⁶⁷ The young Count of Hodice was contravening several of Geneva's ordinances all at the same time, but the Genevan authorities were more or less powerless to stop him or to punish him as they would one of Geneva's inhabitants, because of his rank and because of the rank of his guardian.

The Council's inability or unwillingness to put a stop to some of the noble students' activities also led to strain between the magistrates and the ministers. While the former were likely to be more conscious of the unfortunate political and financial consequences of applying Geneva's ordinances to the letter to noble students, the ministers were more in favour of a strict adherence to the rules. The conflict between magistrates and ministers came to light in January 1615, because of the Feast of the Three Kings. On 4 January 1615, the ministers came to warn the magistrates that 'several German lords and nobles want to hold a feast on the day of the Three Kings. They want to elect a king and his officers, including a cleric, a fool, a troubadour, and others. They even want to parade through the city, which would be a cause of great scandal'. The Feast of the Three Kings was not celebrated at all in Geneva. The Council decided to forbid the German nobles to hold their feast at night and to parade through the city on horseback. They were also warned not to commit any excesses or give rise to any scandal during their feast.⁶⁸ The magistrates had thus arranged a compromise.

On the following day, the German nobles appeared with a petition, asking to be allowed to hold their feast, because all the food was already ready. They promised not to elect any traditional characters, and not to go out on horseback except in their everyday clothes and in their usual fashion. They also promised not to cause any trouble. The magistrates granted their petition.⁶⁹

That same day, the ministers got wind of the Council's positive response to the German students' petition, and reappeared before the magistrates to complain. The ministers claimed that 'in spite of the offers they made in their petition, the Germans intend to elect a king. In fact, they have already done so following the new calendar. They have also elected a constable, who will appoint the other characters, namely a cleric, a fool, a pimp, a servant, and other similar ones. This is profane and a form of orgy. Because they know people were talking about it, they will not have a pimp, but they have left the cleric. Their pretext is that they have elected one to lead in prayer, but in fact, he will be doing Lutheran preaching (for these Germans are

⁶⁷ RC 115, fol. 248, 6 September 1616.

⁶⁸ RC 115, fol. 6, 4 January 1615.

⁶⁹ RC 114, fol. 7, 5 January 1615.

Lutherans, and Macadis, the troubadour, is even a Papist). We have already told the magistrates how during the most recent Lord's Supper they were imitating our Lord's Supper by giving each other bread, and saying "Here, have some of Calvin's bread" [...] There are quarrels between them, which will only lead to disaster, and they are intending to parade through the city'. After this comprehensive indictment both of the German nobles and of their proposed feast, it is hardly surprising that the Council's verdict on the affair was strict: 'It is agreed that the German nobles should be forbidden again to elect any king or officers tomorrow, and to go riding. If they wish to hold a banquet, they must do so another day, and no drummers nor trumpeters will be allowed to attend. Those who hire out horses will be forbidden to hire any out to the Germans tomorrow'.⁷⁰ There is no information as to whether the Germans held their feast or not, but the ministers' dislike of and dismay over the behaviour of certain nobles is apparent.

The picture presented by the Genevan Academy between 1600 and 1620 indicates something of the problems faced by the magistrates and ministers in sustaining the schola publica's place in Calvinist higher education. In a sense, the Genevan authorities were trapped in a vicious circle. Suffering from lack of funds, they could not attract or retain international scholars, and had to turn to local ones. Local professors, less able in certain instances, let standards fall. Falling standards led to the schola publica losing much of the appeal it might still have had for foreign scholars, and thus the Genevan schola publica sank more and more into a minor role. In a way, Geneva's earlier role as leader of the Reformed churches and as supplier of ministers for new congregations also contributed to the schola publica's difficulties, for Geneva ended up with relatively few younger ministers able to take over from the old guard. The magistrates' use of the schola publica's professors as ministers only served to spread existing Genevan resources even more thinly. The magistrates' attempts to diversify into other subjects were also fraught with difficulties, for it was not easy to combine effectively the schola publica's roles as a training centre for ministers and as a stop along the route of noble students' grand tours. In essence, within a sixty-year period from 1559 onwards, Geneva's earlier role as the focal point of Calvinist churches across Europe diminished, particularly as churches, academies, and universities became established in other Reformed areas. In the first 20 years of the 17th century, the changes at work in the Genevan schola publica represent the Genevan authorities' attempts to preserve, and at the same time to reshape its role as a centre of Calvinist higher education.

⁷⁰ RC 114, fol. 7, 5 January 1615.

Chapter VI: France and the Genevan Academy

As the French Reformed churches became established during the middle decades of the 16th century, congregations which had functioned thanks to informal preaching arrangements began to ask for trained and ordained ministers to serve them, and to administer the sacraments.¹ The need for trained ministers in France far outweighed the number of those able and available to go and serve there. On 12 May 1561, for instance, the Company of Pastors received a letter from the church of Nîmes, appealing for a minister, and pointing out that at the recent provincial synod in Saintes, there were only 10 ministers for 54 churches.²

This imbalance between the large number of Reformed churches seeking a minister, and the low numbers of those able to serve was one which other Reformed areas had also had to face, but with a few significant differences. In cities such as Strasbourg, Geneva, or Zurich, the number of clergy prior to the Reformation was much higher than that after it. In these three cities, the Reformation was a communal event. In stages, the Mass was abolished, and Catholic clergy were invited to choose between accepting the Reformation or departing. Most chose to leave.³ However, the large number of monastics among the Catholic clergy meant that only a small number of pre-Reformation clergy were actually parish priests. Thus, each city was able to employ many fewer clerics after the Reformation than had been in the city prior to it, because of the disappearance of monasticism and memorial masses. Those clerics who wanted to remain had to accept the Reformation and in some cases, after retraining, could be considered for ministerial posts in the new order.⁴ Problems recruiting ministers of sufficiently high calibre did occur in the Reformation cities⁵, but these were not as acute as those of the French Reformed church.

¹ Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming*, p. 31.

² BPU, Ms Fr 197a, fol. 92. The church of Nîmes to the Company of Pastors, 12 May 1561.

³ For Strasbourg, see Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: a Study in the Process of Change* (New Haven, 1967), pp. 146-50. For Geneva, see *Histoire de Genève des origines à 1798* Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève (Geneva, 1951), pp. 201-3. For Zurich, see Ulrich Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Works* Trans. by R. C. L. Gritsch (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 82-3, 97-8, 105-6.

⁴ Roget, *Peuple de Genève*, I, pp. 117-8, 121.

⁵ Gäbler, *Huldrych Zwingli*, p. 100, and Naphy, 'The Renovation of the ministry in Calvin's Geneva' in *The Reformation of the Parishes* ed. by Andrew Pettegree (Manchester, 1993), pp. 113-18.

In order to fill their vacant pulpits, the French churches looked to Geneva and its Academy as their principal source of ministers. These ministers were all the more sought after because of their period spent in Geneva, the centre of Calvinist doctrine and church order. However, as the Calvinist church at a national level established itself in France through national and provincial synods and colloquies, the growth in structures and practices proper to the French church came into conflict with the Genevan approach to training, preaching and ordination. At the same time, the friction between Genevan and French practices was largely ignored by individual French congregations, whose main aim continued to be the provision of trained ministers for their parishes. Indeed, their disregard of the procedures laid down by the national synods served only to bring to light the tension between the Genevan and French churches over their differing practices. French congregations continued to look to Geneva for ministers, and it was this long-running support which enabled the schola publica to continue preparing young men for ecclesiastical careers well into the 17th century.

One of the fundamental motivations behind the foundation of the Genevan Academy had been the need to ensure a sufficient supply of trained ministers, especially for France.⁶ Particularly in the 1560s, when the Lausanne Academy was reduced in staff and when France had few Reformed academies of its own, Geneva provided one of the only options for those wanting to study in a French-language environment.⁷ Although courses in the schola publica were free until 1584, students still had to find enough money to pay for travel, lodging, food, and other necessary items. The expense was such that one French student, Christophe Bertrand, was accused in 1563 of having taken 1000 pounds from his father's coffers to come and study in Geneva.⁸ One of the ways in which students were able to meet such costs without spending their parents' money was through sponsorship by their local ecclesiastical authorities. The student's local sponsors provided him with enough funds to pay for his stay in Geneva, in return for a promise, oral or in writing, that the student would serve them as a minister once his studies were over. Such arrangements benefited all parties involved. The students were able to attend the schola publica without worrying about the cost, the sponsors were assured of

⁶ Kingdon, Geneva and the Coming, p. 15.

⁷ The only other option available at the time in France was the theology faculty of Orléans university, where François Bérauld (formerly of Geneva) taught Greek, Matthieu Béroald (later in Geneva) taught Hebrew, and Nicolas des Gallars (in Geneva before and after) taught theology between 1561 and 1568. N. Weiss, 'Une des premières écoles de théologie protestantes en France (Orléans 1561-68)', BSHPF 60 (1911), 218-24.

⁸ Stelling-Michaud, Le Livre du recteur, II, p. 195.

obtaining a properly-trained minister destined specifically for them, and the Genevan authorities received students who would not turn to them for financial assistance. By returning to serve their sponsors, the students also helped to fill gaps in the French pastorate, which otherwise had to be filled by some of the Company of Pastors' own members.

Out of the total of 888 French students who matriculated between 1559 and 1620, 55 are known to have received some form of financial assistance from their local churches or magistrates. It is possible that the number of sponsored students is in fact higher, for many of the letters indicating that a student was 'sent to Geneva' by his church do not state explicitly that he received a scholarship to go there. Yet students were not simply sent to Geneva with money in hand. Both those known to have received funds and those who seem to have been self-funding carried letters from their churches to the Genevan Company of Pastors, recommending the student to the ministers' care. If this was the sole purpose of such a letter, it tended to be brief and to the point. For example, on 8 August 1618, the church of Lyon wrote to the Company of Pastors, recommending André de Pomey, a former monk, to their care. 'God having pulled M. de Pomey, a man born in this city to an honourable family, out of the mud-hole of the papacy, we have suggested to him to go to your Academy, to advance his studies and profit more and more from the knowledge of the truth. We also thought it our duty to recommend him affectionately to you in this way, asking you to provide him with all the care and favour we would hope for, towards someone who is so dear to us'.⁹

In other cases, however, the recommendation of a student came at the very end of a letter detailing the activities of the church and providing information on the state of affairs in France. Hence, French students coming to Geneva played an important role in transmitting news from France. On 12/22 March 1598, the Company of Pastors received a letter from the church of Nîmes, detailing the decisions of the recent colloquy held in that city, and discussing the upcoming national synod of the French Reformed churches. Only at the end of the letter did the church recommend the bearer of the letter, Paul de Falguerolles. According to the Nîmes church, de Falguerolles, whose brother was a minister, was coming to Geneva to study theology.¹⁰ Antoine Renaud, the minister of Nérac, wrote a similar letter to the Company of Pastors on 8/18 October 1598, detailing his travels from

⁹ BPU, Ms Fr 423, fol. 25. The church of Lyon to the Company of Pastors, 8 August 1618.

¹⁰ RCP VII, p. 290. The church of Nîmes to the Company of Pastors, 12/22 March 1598.

Germany to France, the state of affairs of his church, the need for a new minister for Nérac as he was being transferred by the authority of the national synod to Bordeaux, and finally, recommending the bearer of his letter, Isaac Silvius, who was coming to Geneva to train as a minister.¹¹ Those sending students to Geneva could therefore fulfil two objectives simultaneously by using the student as a messenger and recommending him to the Company of Pastors' care in their message.

Overall, such letters provide useful insights into the way in which candidates suitable for further training were selected by their churches, and into the characteristics which the churches felt their candidates possessed. To a certain extent, the churches' letters of recommendation served as letters of introduction for the students, to make themselves known to the Genevan authorities by stressing their connection with groups or individuals of the Reformed church already familiar to the Genevan authorities.

In the clear majority of cases, letters of recommendation from French churches were given to young men intending to enter the ministry. Most of the surviving letters came from a church or a minister and were addressed to the Company of Pastors, rather than to the Small Council or to the rector of the schola publica. Because the recommendations were from church body to church body, the characteristics of the student listed by his church, and the expectations of those sending the letters reflected the strong interest and commitment to aspects of training and behaviour which were not necessarily included in the learning and scholarship fostered by the schola publica. It is the contrast between the attitude and expectations of those writing, and the reality of training in Geneva which provides valuable information on the differing expectations as to ministerial training between Geneva and France.

The information provided about students in letters of recommendation from their churches varied considerably. In certain instances, the student was not even named, making identification difficult, as in the letter from the church of Rouen to the Company of Pastors dated 24 September 1613. Rouen noted, 'The letter carrier is sent by us to you to finish his studies in your Academy. He is a candidate of our church, to which he has dedicated his labours for the holy ministry with the grace of God [...] We can testify that he is pious and that his morals are good, and that he has been this way since he was a child'.¹² In other cases, where the prospective student is named, the churches' recommendations still emphasise their candidate's piety and

¹¹ RCP VII, p. 336. Antoine Renaud to the Company of Pastors, 8/18 October 1598.

¹² BPU, Ms Fr 421, fol. 99. The church of Rouen to the Company of Pastors, 24 September 1613.

behaviour above all else. On 17 May 1615, the Synod of Dauphiné wrote to the Company of Pastors, recommending Gaspard Martin, a former Franciscan monk. '...having been in this church for about 6 months, with testimonies of erudition, piety and uprightness, he has been judged by us to be able to serve soon in the church of God, and to be worthy of the favour of good people'.¹³ Somewhat more stress was placed on academic abilities in the letter of recommendation from the minister and former Genevan student Moise Ricotier for Pierre de Favières on 13/23 May 1604, though again, moral qualities came first. Ricotier wrote, 'He is worthy of your affection because of his piety, because of his ultimate goal [the ministry] and because he is knowledgeable in philosophy, Latin and Greek, as he has successfully finished his humanities course in Bordeaux'.¹⁴

Even in cases where the prospective student was not necessarily going to enter the ministry, letters of recommendation still stressed the student's moral calibre as the greatest point in his favour. In 1618, Jean Mestrezat, another Genevan alumnus, wrote to Théodore Tronchin to recommend the son of M. Rivet, minister of the church of Thouars. According to Mestrezat, writing from Paris, Rivet senior 'brought with him one of his sons, whom he wishes to send to Geneva to study languages and theology [...] The son is a very upstanding young man of some seventeen or eighteen years. His father is a man of great merit, to whom many honourable people are very pleased to show friendship'.¹⁵ In the opposite case, when a church sent to Geneva a student who was causing them concern, moral factors were still at stake. For example, the church of Bordeaux wrote to the Company of Pastors on 24 April/4 May 1604 about their student Jean Verneuil, whom they were transferring from the academy of Montauban in France to Geneva, because of his poor behaviour. They stated, 'The Montauban professors wrote to us that he was ill-disciplined, Epicurean particularly as regards wine, unreliable, flighty, and a liar as well. Therefore, we have sent him to you, hoping that he will mend his ways in your company'.¹⁶

The minor role given to any assessment of academic potential by the sponsoring churches is worthy of comment. On the one hand, it is possible that the churches and individuals recommending students were better placed in most

¹³ BPU, Ms Fr 422, fol. 55. The Synod of Dauphiné (Mens) to the Company of Pastors, 17 May 1615.

¹⁴ RCP IX, p. 243. Moise Ricotier (Clairac) to the Company of Pastors, 13/23 May 1604.

¹⁵ BPU, Arch Tronchin 26, fol. 75. Jean Mestrezat (Paris) to Théodore Tronchin, 24 [no month] 1618.

¹⁶ RCP IX, p. 239. The church of Bordeaux to the Company of Pastors, 24 April/4 May 1604.

instances to judge moral rather than scholarly qualities. On the other hand, it seems clear that the principal concern of those sending students to Geneva was the moral calibre of those in whom they were proposing to invest, and therefore, that in their letters they focused on features which were most important in their eyes. As well, it may be that as those sending students were recommending them to the care of the Company of Pastors, it was more politic to state that the student was a model of virtue, both to justify the sender's choice and to encourage the Genevan authorities' interest in the student.

The tone of the letters of recommendation was intended to appeal to the Company of Pastors' sense of its own centrality in the Calvinist world. The colloquy of Aulnis, writing to the Company of Pastors on 21 May 1615, recommending the student Pierre Joutin to its care, stated 'Your holy zeal and pious devotion which you show for the increase of the reign of Jesus Christ are well-known to us, shown especially in that from your hands, as from a holy seminary of piety have come, and often are still coming daily people who are well-trained and ready for the holy ministry of the Gospel.'¹⁷ Similarly glowing terms were used by Moise Ricotier, recommending another student, Jacques Philipot, on 23 April/3 May 1605. 'The holy zeal which you show in preparing and training in theology the young men who come to you wishing to advance in the service of God and of his Church and who have the privilege and honour to be your disciples and your usual students, leads me to recommend to you wholeheartedly M. Philipot.'¹⁸ Of course in part these laudatory statements were simply formulaic, but at the same time, they do reveal something of the importance which those sending students placed on securing the Company's favour for their protégés. Indeed, Geneva's role in fostering the talents and training of the young men sent to the schola publica constituted their correspondents' chief expectation.

The senders' wishes regarding training also brought into play their expectations as to the capacities which their newly-fledged ministers were to possess. In other words, expectations regarding training also led to expectations concerning the end result. Similarly, the characteristics which churches hoped their ministers would possess reflect the churches' understanding of the training Geneva's schola publica provided.

¹⁷ BPU, Ms Fr 422, fol. 57. The Colloquy of Aulnis (Vertueil) to the Company of Pastors, 21 May 1615.

¹⁸ RCP IX, p. 284. Moise Ricotier (Clairac) to the Company of Pastors, 23 April/3 May 1605.

The features of ministerial training emphasised by the churches in their letters about their students focused more on practical aspects than on purely intellectual ones. Few asked for their students to receive good grounding in Hebrew or in the loci communes, and seldom requested that their students engage in academic disputations and declamations. Moise Ricotier, recommending another two students to the Company of Pastors' care on 26 May/5 June 1609, was one of the minority who did focus on scholarly matters, since he stated that the two young men's 'intention is to acquire a solid foundation in Greek and Hebrew, so that they can build later on firm foundations when God calls them to the holy ministry. Therefore, I [...] ask you to encourage them to follow assiduously all the theological exercises held in your church and academies.'¹⁹

Instead, many of the churches wrote more generally about theological training, as did the Colloquy of Aulnis in their recommendation for Pierre Joutin, 'we suggested to him to go to your Academy, as it is the best place we know of to be healthily and solidly taught about the mysteries of divine knowledge, and to be trained for the explanation of God's Word, and to be directed always, either by good teachings or by pious examples, towards holiness of life.'²⁰ Others, such as the church of Rouen, writing to recommend their anonymous student on 24 September 1613, were more specific, '...if such a thing is allowed among you, we would ask that he could have entry to your consistories, to learn that good order which was first born among you and then spread to the churches of France. We also ask you to use him sometimes, as you do others of the same status, to preach in the villages of your area, so that by speaking in public, he may be able to train his voice and grow in confidence.'²¹

Two hypotheses are possible to explain why those sending students largely disregarded the academic training which Geneva had to offer. Firstly, it may be that the churches took it for granted that the Company would be ensuring that their students were attending the lectures and were participating in the requisite academic exercises, and thus felt that there was no need to re-emphasise the importance of academic training. But on the other hand one could argue that overall, the churches saw practical training as both more important and more relevant to parish ministry than intellectual training alone. The most eloquent evidence for this hypothesis comes in a letter from the church of Rouen to the Company of Pastors, dated 30

¹⁹ RCP X, pp. 278-9. Moise Ricotier (Clairac) to the Company of Pastors, 26 May/5 June 1609.

²⁰ BPU, Ms Fr 422, fol. 57. The Colloquy of Aulnis (Vertueil) to the Company of Pastors, 21 May 1615.

²¹ BPU, Ms Fr 421, fol. 99. The church of Rouen to the Company of Pastors, 24 September 1613.

October 1613. At the time, the church of Rouen was looking for a minister and the Genevan authorities had proposed two possible candidates. However, the Rouen church was not satisfied with either one, and contested Geneva's criteria for selection, particularly vis-à-vis the second candidate. 'As for the second one, whom you say was born and raised in your church and whom you used for a while as a replacement preacher in an extraordinary assembly near the city, because we are not sure of the strength of his voice, we fear it will not be heard by the four to five thousand people who make up this church, a point which we raised specifically when we wrote to two of the members of your company. You do not mention this matter when describing this man, but only recommend his morals and learning.'²² There was clearly a divergence between Geneva's recommendation and Rouen's expectations. This divergence was reinforced when towards the end of the letter Rouen specified the qualities which it was hoping for in its new minister. '...This church, more than any other in the province, needs to be led by ministers who are doctrinally able and prudent, having knowledge of the world, able to speak out when needed to the government and magistrates about problems which arise relatively often here.' In the eyes of the Rouen church, piety and scholarship alone were not powerful enough qualities for the leadership they required from their ministers.

If it is indeed the case that practical training had more value in the eyes of the French churches than did academic training, Geneva's role as a centre of Calvinist higher education needs to be re-evaluated, if only to place more importance on the practical aspects of training which Geneva provided. But given the churches' emphasis on the practical elements of training for the ministry, one must ask whether in a certain sense the academic training available in the schola publica became peripheral in the eyes of the French churches, particularly under Beza's direction and afterwards. In the case of French ministers, it seems that Geneva's place as the religious and moral centre of Calvinism played a greater role than did its purely intellectual role. If it is true that those sending students had at least as much, if not more interest in practical, rather than intellectual training, then the distant attitude of the Company of Pastors towards the increase in the number of subjects taught in the schola publica, and towards its attempts to draw closer to a university model, is more readily understandable. Based on the evidence provided by the churches' letters, Geneva's scholarly reputation was not its chief attraction. Thus, the Company, whose principal interest remained ministerial training, could see no

²² BPU, Ms Fr 421, fol. 105-6. The church of Rouen to the Company of Pastors, 30 October 1613.

particular advantage in diversifying into other subjects, such as law, to reinforce the schola publica's scholarly appeal.

The money which sponsored students received from those funding their studies was intended to cover travel and living costs. Indeed, the Genevan authorities had an estimate of the costs of study in Geneva, which they transmitted to churches who launched official sponsorship schemes. For example, after the Company of Pastors had written to the church of Metz on 28 October 1579, encouraging them to sponsor the studies of a few young men who could then serve as ministers, the Metz church agreed to do so.²³ On 6 April 1580, the Company of Pastors wrote again to the Metz church, setting up the parameters for sponsorship, including the amount needed to sustain the chosen student, François de Combles, for a year in Geneva. '...the least you could pay him for his boarding and living expenses is 50 écus sols per year, starting in mid-April'.²⁴ By 1581, when the Company wrote to the church of Metz about their second sponsored student, François Buffet, the recommended amount had risen to 60 écus sols a year, though the Company noted that the Metz church's best source of information on the costs of living in Geneva was François de Combles, who had become a minister in the Metz church. The Company felt that if Buffet received 60 écus sols a year, 'he will be pleased, and he will use the sum to pay for his room and board, and to buy some books and clothes'.²⁵ In 1583, after the church of Montpellier had also agreed to set up a sponsorship scheme, the Company of Pastors wrote in April to Montpellier, to suggest Jean Gigord, from Béziers, as a suitable recipient. The Company added that it suggested giving him '50 livres tournois, so that he can manage without having to do any tutoring, so that he will be ready as soon as possible to serve you'.²⁶

Large churches such as Metz and Montpellier could afford to set up sponsorship schemes, benefiting more than one student over the course of time. Metz sponsored the studies of François de Combles in 1579, François Buffet in 1580, Etienne Mozet in 1583, and Jean d'Ivoy in 1592. All four men ended up as ministers in the Metz church, indicating something of the success of the Metz sponsorship programme. Montpellier, for its part, used the interest raised on the sum of 1500 florins sent to Geneva in 1583 to pay for the studies of Jean Gigord in 1583, of Pierre Formy and Théodore de la Place in 1594, of Jean Fitte in 1595, and of Philippe Codur

²³ RCP IV, p. 296. The Company of Pastors to the church of Metz, 28 October 1579.

²⁴ RCP IV, pp. 320-1. The Company of Pastors to the church of Metz, 6 April 1580.

²⁵ RCP IV, p. 357. The Company of Pastors to the church of Metz, 27 January 1581.

²⁶ RCP V, pp. 229-30. The Company of Pastors to the church of Montpellier, April 1583.

in 1600. Montpellier was rather less successful than Metz in training ministers specifically for itself, since Formy and Fitte ministered in other areas, de la Place seems never to have been ordained, and Codur, though he did serve Montpellier as a minister between 1612-18, and was professor of Hebrew there between 1605-17, ended up apostate in 1645. Gigord was thus the only one sponsored by Montpellier who became a permanent minister in that city.

In other instances, a large sum of money donated by an individual was managed by a church or group of churches, so as to use the interest on the amount to pay for a prospective minister's studies. For example, in 1585 Pierre Héliot, a native of Burgundy who lived in Geneva donated 500 gold écus to the Bourse Française in Geneva, stating that the interest from this sum of money was to fund the studies of young men from Burgundy intending to become ministers.²⁷ In spite of its efforts to transfer the management of Héliot's gift to the churches of Burgundy, the Company of Pastors administered the fund until 1603, when the Burgundy churches took over. Since 1585, the Héliot fund had provided financial support for several students, including the nephew of the donor, also named Pierre Héliot in 1597, Jérôme de Saumaise in 1601, Jean-Baptiste Bugnet and Abiel Maurice in 1604, Pierre Bolenat and Joseph Prévost in 1605, Jean Bolot and a certain Cusin in 1606, and Jacob Textor in 1607.²⁸

The financial support provided to students by sponsors was thus a flourishing project, especially in the case of the larger churches. Nonetheless, problems did occur in the transfer of funds, either because of difficulties on the French side, or because of the difficulties inherent in overseeing scholarships over long distances. In some cases, the French sponsors found it difficult to raise sufficient funds for their student's period in Geneva. For example, on 5/15 August 1584, the churches of Vert and Tonneins wrote to the Company of Pastors to let it know that they could not pay for Elias Neau's studies beyond the six months which the churches and Neau had agreed upon.²⁹ It is unclear from the letter whether Neau had studied in Geneva or elsewhere prior to his agreement with the churches of Vert and Tonneins, but if not, his six-month period in Geneva seems somewhat brief. In exchange, the churches had provided him with 40 écus sols, a reasonable sum for six months, if one compares it to the 60 écus sols for an entire year suggested for François Buffet in 1580. Other churches suffered even more serious financial difficulties, as did the church of Lyon, which wrote to the Company of Pastors on 5 July 1571, admitting

²⁷ RCP V, 7 May 1585, pp. 71-2, and p. 72 footnote.

²⁸ RCP VIII, pp. 75, 191; RCP IX, p. 240; RCP X, p. 28.

²⁹ RCP V, pp. 293-4. The churches of Vert and Tonneins to the Company of Pastors, 5/15 August 1584.

that it could no longer afford to provide funds for the students it had sponsored in Geneva.³⁰ The Company noted in its registers that in fact it had been several months since certain of the students had received any instalments, and that several had been forced to borrow money and to get into debt.³¹ The church of Lyon acknowledged that since it could no longer provide funding, the students were free to seek opportunities elsewhere, though Lyon added that because of the support which it had provided to the students in the past, it ought to retain some rights over the future pastoral services of these students.

Problems also arose when sponsors and their students could not agree on the parameters of funding. In September 1606, the church of Orpierre recommended a student, Urpillot, to the Company's care. The letter specified that Urpillot was to stay in Geneva for two months, to make progress with practice.³² In spite of the time limit, Urpillot stayed longer in Geneva, since the Company sent him back to his sponsors with a letter dated 25 March 1607. In the letter, the Company complained that Urpillot had not received the financial support which he should have had from Orpierre, and that he had a debt of 224 florins to be paid to his Genevan landlord. The Company asked the Orpierre church to send the money rapidly.³³ On 23 March/2 April 1609, the Synod of Dauphiné wrote to the Company of Pastors to resolve the matter. The synod noted that Urpillot had only been sent for two months, that he had received sufficient funds for those two months before leaving Orpierre, and that nothing in the original letter of recommendation suggested that Urpillot was going to be receiving any further funds. The synod concluded that the Genevan landlord had been foolish to extend so much credit to Urpillot.³⁴

For the larger churches, the greatest problem was one of supervision, in that it could be difficult to oversee the distribution of funds in Geneva. For instance, though the churches of Burgundy nominally took over the administration of the Hélot fund in 1603,³⁵ the administration of the fund appears to have remained in Genevan hands, for in June 1607, delegates from the Burgundy Synod told the Company of Pastors of their concerns about the way in which the Hélot fund was being managed by the Genevans. The delegates were particularly worried about the

³⁰ Aubert, *Correspondance*, XII p. 139. The Consistory of Lyon to Theodore Beza, 5 July 1571.

³¹ *RCP* III, [n. d.] 1571, p. 38.

³² *RCP* IX, pp. 338-9. The church of Orpierre to the Company of Pastors, 4/14 September 1606.

³³ *RCP* X, p. 187. The Company of Pastors to the church of Orpierre, 25 March 1607.

³⁴ *RCP* X, pp. 270-1. The provincial synod of Dauphiné (Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux) to the Company of Pastors, 23 March/2 April 1609.

³⁵ *RCP* VIII, 10 June 1603, pp. 226-7.

possible depletion of the original donation and about the lack of diligence in the payment of the interest gained on the investment of the original sum.³⁶ The Company responded that it had managed Héliot's gift faithfully, that the original amount was intact and that the interest was paid promptly. The Company did note, however, that the 500 écus of the original donation were worth much more in 1607 than in 1585, in terms of their exchange rate. In other words, an écu was worth many more florins in 1607 than in 1585. The Company felt that the écus of the original donation ought not to be changed at the current exchange rate, but that the Company would ensure that each student receiving funds from the Héliot donation would be given sufficient money.³⁷ The delegates from Burgundy who were worried about the small amounts paid to their students were told that Geneva was not in fact exchanging the écus at the contemporary exchange rate, but at an older one, getting fewer florins for each écu, presumably so as to sustain the capital.

In 1594, the church of Montpellier was also unhappy about the running of its sponsorship programme, and perhaps also about its results, since Théodore de la Place, sponsored by the Montpellier church in 1594, had behaved badly in Geneva and had left the city before he could be called before the Consistory to answer for his actions.³⁸ On 19 November 1594, the Company received a letter from the Montpellier church, asking that out of the original 1200 livres donated in 1583, all but a part destined for Geneva's poor be returned to Montpellier.³⁹ On the same date, the Company of Pastors wrote back, agreeing to the scheme, and specifying the appropriate exchange rates. Part of the reason for Montpellier's concern is explained in the Company of Pastors' letter. The money had been entrusted to one of the ministers, Jean-Baptiste Rotan, who was away in France in 1594, and thus no one could really reassure the Montpellier church by proving where the money had been invested. Rotan's Genevan colleagues were reasonably certain that the money had been invested in the printing of the Genevan Bible, but such a lack of knowledge as to the whereabouts of Montpellier's investment was hardly calculated to inspire confidence.

Even when the funding was successfully collected by the sponsors or administered by the Genevan authorities, there was no guarantee that the student would merit the confidence placed in him. Such was the situation of the church of St. Jean d'Angély, whose student, Pierre Perron from Lausanne, was examined by the Company on 1 April 1584, a month after St. Jean d'Angély had launched an action

³⁶ RCP X, 30 June 1607, p. 28.

³⁷ RCP X, 30 June 1607, p. 29.

³⁸ RCP VI, 24 December 1594, p. 143 and footnote.

³⁹ RCP VI, 19 November 1594, p. 141 and footnote.

against Perron to try and recover some of the money spent on him since 1581, since in spite of the church's instructions in February 1584, he had not set out from Geneva to come and serve them. Not only did the Company of Pastors have to inform St. Jean d'Angély that Perron had little aptitude for ministry, particularly for a church of St. Jean d'Angély's importance, but also that he was unable to repay the church's outlay on him.⁴⁰ The financial cost of paying for a student's training, and then losing him was evident in St. Jean d'Angély's efforts to have Perron reimburse some of the money which he had received.

In a sense, the threat or the actual withdrawal of funds was the only leverage which the sponsors had on a recalcitrant or badly-behaved student. For example, Jean Verneuil, sponsored by the church of Bordeaux since 1604, was reprimanded by the Company of Pastors on several occasions in that year for his dissolute lifestyle.⁴¹ Yet the Company's scolding had little effect, so as a last resort, the Bordeaux church notified the Genevan ministers on 29 November/9 December 1604 that Verneuil's scholarship had been terminated.⁴²

Once the student had made his way to Geneva, his letter of recommendation had been received by the Company of Pastors, and all the formalities of matriculation and living arrangements had been settled, the student was free to begin his training. Knowledge about specific students' course of study is fragmentary, mainly because of the lack of sources detailing exactly what courses students were taking. In some instances, however, information has survived, so that for example in the case of Jean Verneuil, the Company of Pastors noted, 'We can testify that he is participating in the academic exercises both in theology and in Greek and Hebrew.'⁴³ It must be remembered that the *schola publica* did not offer any degrees, and thus set standards for 'graduating students' were non-existent. Consequently, neither those sending students nor the Company of Pastors could indicate a required course of study for those intending to enter the ministry. Certain elements of academic training for future ministers were emphasised however, even by the students themselves. On 26 October 1604, the theology students requested that the city ministers participate in the monthly theological disputations held in Latin 'so that the students may be trained that much better by the ministers' example'. The Company of Pastors, however, rejected the idea as an unnecessary

⁴⁰ *RCP* V, pp. 278-9. The Company of Pastors to the church of St. Jean d'Angély, 1 April 1584.

⁴¹ *RCP* IX, 20 July 1604, 27 July 1604, pp. 33-4.

⁴² *RCP* IX, p. 265. The church of Bordeaux to the Company of Pastors, 29 November/9 December 1604.

⁴³ *RCP* IX, 11 January 1605, p. 61.

novelty, adding to the ministers' heavy workload.⁴⁴ The students' insistence that the ministers ought to participate in what was otherwise a purely academic matter indicates something of the students' interest in the practical application of their studies. This interest in learning from those with experience was reinforced by the other, practical facet of their Genevan education.

Perhaps because of the church's greater interest in the practical aspects of pastoral studies, more information survives about students' participation in non-academic training, and specifically in preaching. By using students for the ministry as occasional preachers, the Company of Pastors achieved several goals. Firstly, it acted on one of the recommendations noted by several of those sending students. For instance, the church of Aubeterre, in its letter to the Company of Pastors on 8 January 1565, asked that its student Jean Boutellant, 'be sent to practice in a village, so that he will not be such a novice when he returns here to guide this flock'.⁴⁵ Practice in preaching was one of the expectations of those sending students and receiving ministers. Secondly, sending students to preach in its rural areas enabled Geneva to continue providing skeleton pastoral services to its outlying areas, which might otherwise have gone through long periods of vacancy. For example, on 5 October 1604, the Company of Pastors noted that its representatives were to inform the Small Council that 'those living in Chêne and Thonex need a minister to visit them regularly given that there is a large body of the faithful which must not be lost through our negligence'.⁴⁶ In that instance, two Genevan students were appointed as temporary preachers.⁴⁷ On 3 June 1586, the Company of Pastors appointed another student to a vacant rural parish on the death of the previous incumbent.⁴⁸ 'On Friday 3rd, we elected M. Robert Lazare [Lazare Robert], student belonging to the churches of Normandy, to act as minister in Draillan until his church recalls him'.⁴⁹

And yet, in spite of the seeming appropriateness of using trainee ministers as occasional preachers, problems arose between the Company of Pastors and the French synods. At stake were different concepts of ordination and laying-on of hands. The Genevan Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 described the method of installing a minister as follows: 'The ministers should first elect a person for the post, and should notify the magistrates. They should then present the candidate to the

⁴⁴ RCP IX, 26 October 1604, p. 46.

⁴⁵ RCP III, p. 165. The church of Aubeterre to the Company of Pastors, 8 January 1565.

⁴⁶ RCP IX, 5 October 1604, p. 44.

⁴⁷ RCP IX, 16 November 1604, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁸ RCP V, 4 April 1586, p. 113. The deceased minister was Maurice Viret.

⁴⁹ RCP V, 3 June 1586, p. 123.

Council. If he is considered worthy, then the Council shall receive and accept him in the most expedient way, providing him with their testimony which is to be broadcast to the people in the sermon, so that the candidate may be received by the common consent of all the faithful. [...] As for the procedure for installing him, because past ceremonies have become superstitions in these benighted times, a declaration by one of the ministers about the office to which the candidate is being ordained is sufficient, followed by prayers and petitions asking the Lord to give him the grace to fulfil his responsibilities.⁵⁰ The procedure was threefold: after being elected by the Company and approved by the Small Council, the successful candidate for a vacant ministerial post was to be presented to his congregation. After his installation, the new minister also had to swear an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Genevan magistrates.

By 1576, the procedure had become somewhat more complicated. All the elements of 1541 were retained, but the following points were added. The ministers were to follow the examination procedure, verifying a candidate's doctrine, knowledge of Scripture, and morals. The Small Council was given a greater role, since a few magistrates were to be sent each time to hear the prospective minister expound a passage of Scripture before the Company of Pastors. The delegates were then to report to their colleagues in the Small Council. As for the installation itself, the ordinances of 1576 gave more scope for lay-people to oppose a candidate's installation as their minister, on doctrinal or moral grounds. Otherwise, the ceremony itself remained one in which another minister preached about the pastoral office, the candidate was presented to his congregation, and prayers were said. In 1576 as in 1541, the newly-installed minister then swore an oath of obedience to the Genevan magistrates.⁵¹

In France, however, the ordination procedure set out in the Discipline des églises réformées de France, first established in 1559 at the National Synod of Paris, was somewhat different. As in Geneva, prospective ministers were to be examined on their doctrine and morals before being elected by the relevant colloquy or provincial synod. Before the examination, however, the candidate was to produce letters of testimony from his places of study and from his church. Consequently, students returning to France from Geneva needed letters from the Company of Pastors detailing their studies and conduct. If the student's letters of recommendation and his examination were satisfactory, he was to be elected as a prospective minister, and his future parish was to be notified of his success. No mention is made of the role of lay powers in the approval of new ministers,

⁵⁰ 'Ordonnances ecclésiastiques de 1541' in Heyer, L'Eglise de Genève, pp. 262-3.

⁵¹ 'Ordonnances ecclésiastiques, 1576', in Heyer, L'Eglise de Genève, pp. 278-80.

indicating again how different the situations were in Geneva and in France. The elected minister was then to deliver sermons on three separate occasions to his new congregation, so that 'everyone might be a judge of his teaching'. If no reasons against the minister's ordination were presented by the congregation, their silence indicating tacit approval, the minister was then ordained by his colleagues. After one minister had preached on the pastorate and its duties, and after a prayer, the laying-on of hands took place, following which all the ministers present extended the right hand of fellowship to their new colleague.⁵² The French church required letters of reference for prospective ministers, a feature absent in Geneva, since most of its ministers after 1559 trained in the schola publica. The national synods also insisted on a set of trial sermons before ordination, whereas Genevan ordinances made no mention of such a requirement. Finally, the French Reformed church retained the use of the laying-on of hands at ordination, a feature avoided by the Company of Pastors.

The differing policies on preaching before ordination was one of the sources of conflict between Geneva and the French Reformed church. As already noted, the Company of Pastors did use students to preach in rural parishes, both as a result of requests from those sending students and as a solution to vacancies. Gradually, the French synods became less flexible on the subject, so that in 1601, the synod of Jargeau 'condemns the custom of certain foreign churches who send student candidates to preach in the villages for a few months, before ordaining them.'⁵³ In 1603, the Genevan ministers were specifically condemned by the Synod of Gap, and were asked 'not to send student candidates into the villages to administer the sacraments before being ordained, especially those who will be employed in this kingdom, because of the difficulties which have stemmed from such a procedure.'⁵⁴ On 28 October 1603, after receiving letters from the synod, the Company agreed not to send unordained students coming from the French churches to preach in the Genevan villages, and added that it would also ordain both the minister of the hospital and its own students sent out to the rural areas 'so that they may preach and baptise with greater testimony as to their vocation, and that the church may gain greater assurance and edification'.⁵⁵

If the Company of Pastors followed the Synod of Gap's request, it could no longer provide an opportunity for the French students to gain that vital practical

⁵² Discipline de l'église réformée de France, annotated by François Méjan, (Paris, 1947), pp. 190-5.

⁵³ Discipline de l'église réformée, p. 193.

⁵⁴ Discipline de l'église réformée, p. 193.

⁵⁵ RCP VIII, 9 July 1602, p. 155.

training, short of ordaining the students first. However, the Company did not adopt such a solution either, since the ordination of French students by the Company presented its own set of problems. On the one hand, individual French churches had always encouraged the ordination of their students by the Company of Pastors. On 5/15 August 1584, the churches of Vert and Tonneins wrote to the Genevan ministers, seeking information on the progress of their student, Elias Neau. 'If you find him to be capable and ready to teach, as we hope you will, please send him back with your testimony after your laying-on of hands, so that our churches may profit from his ministry immediately upon his return'.⁵⁶ In September 1606, the Company received a letter from the Colloquy of Grésivaudan, asking that Jean Felix, from Nîmes, be given a letter of recommendation and be ordained by the Company of Pastors before going to the church of Grenoble, once again so that he could begin serving the Grenoble church straight away.⁵⁷ Felix, who had matriculated in the *schola publica* in 1598, had in fact also preached for three months in the rural parish of Chêne in 1602, without prior ordination.⁵⁸ The individual churches' interest in having Geneva ordain their students is readily understandable if one considers that the provincial synods and colloquies whose task it was to examine and ordain candidates met only relatively infrequently. Hence it was quicker to have the Genevan authorities ordain a candidate, rather than to wait for the appropriate body of the French Reformed church to assemble. In the case of Jean Felix, however, the Company of Pastors refused to ordain him: 'since if we do so, it would signal a clear disregard of the French churches and lead to their displeasure. Given that it is necessary to follow the Discipline, it is agreed that we will simply provide an honourable testimony to the said M. Felix, concerning his life and behaviour during his stay here, and regarding the duties he undertook while being employed by us'.⁵⁹ According to the editors' footnote, the Company of Pastors wanted to avoid any suggestion that they might be trying to rule the French churches from a distance.⁶⁰ The Company of Pastors was caught between its wish to respect the French church's independence and the ceaseless demands of individual congregations, for whom the possibility of acquiring a minister outweighed any institutional procedures set up by the French church as a whole.

⁵⁶ *RCP* V, p. 293. The churches of Vert and Tonneins to the Company of Pastors, 5/15 August 1584.

⁵⁷ *RCP* IX, p. 339. The Colloquy of Grésivaudan to the Company of Pastors, September 1606.

⁵⁸ *RCP* VIII, 9 July 1602, p. 155.

⁵⁹ *RCP* IX, 19 September 1606, p. 209.

⁶⁰ *RCP* IX, p. 209 footnote.

In a sense, Geneva's location outside France compounded the problem, since the French synods could only ask Geneva to respect their codes, but had no way of compelling Geneva to do so, unlike in the case of French centres of training. Indeed, various congregations used a direct appeal to Geneva for a minister as a means of queue-jumping, in spite of the French synods' rules that no appeal could be made to Geneva without the permission of the relevant colloquy or synod. For instance, on 7 February 1610, the church of Dijon wrote to the Company of Pastors, requesting a minister. 'The lack and necessity which we are in, due to the absence of God's Word and of the holy sacraments, leads us once again to turn to you, to implore you as we have in previous letters, to help us obtain a minister, as you may think it necessary among those with whom we live. We know that the last provincial synod, held in Pasay, resolved that the churches of the province would not be able to obtain ministers, except through the synod, but as there are no ministers to place at the moment, but only candidates, we thought this rule was not so universal as not to have an exception, given our need for a fully-trained master. [...] We are forced to repeat ourselves at this point, to assure you that we sometimes have to keep children for baptism for three weeks to a month, either because a minister is sick or because the roads are bad. Because of this, our opponents keep murmuring against us'.⁶¹ Dijon's appeal was written in such a way as to attract Genevan assistance.

But if the Company did get involved in furnishing ministers or even in lending some of its own clergy to churches in need, it was liable to receive letters such as the one sent by the provincial synod of Dauphiné on 25 June 1610. 'Your zeal and charity in helping the churches of this kingdom by assisting them through the ministry of pastors from your own company, so as to extend God's glory as much as is in your power, are worthy of our particular thanks. [...] We ask you to continue in your good-will towards us in future, with the following proviso, due to the resolution taken at the last national synod in St. Maixent. Please do not fulfil any request that comes to you on this matter without the request and consent of the colloquies from which the asking churches come, whether the churches are asking for the loan of a minister, or are asking for one outright. That will mean that no church will be able to go after any minister without having him follow the order established by the churches in this kingdom'.⁶² Matters of practical training for future ministers, and the next logical step, namely ordination, became subjects of controversy between the French Reformed church and Geneva, because of the

⁶¹ BPU, Ms Fr. 420, fol. 40. The church of Dijon to the Company of Pastors, 7 February 1610.

⁶² BPU, Ms Fr. 420, fol. 74-6. The provincial synod of Dauphiné (Ambrun) to the Company of Pastors, 25 June 1610

conflict between the growing organisation and independence of the French Reformed church, and the on-going urgent appeals from French congregations to Geneva for ministers to fill vacant French pulpits.

Because there were no degrees marking the end of students' period in the schola publica, and because students came to it from different backgrounds and with different levels of training already completed, lengths of stay in Geneva varied from a few months to a few years. The one consistent feature in the case of those training for later ministry in France was the procedure for their evaluation and recall. Firstly, their sponsoring church or a church interested in calling them as minister would contact the Company of Pastors, asking for an evaluation of their student's readiness for ordination, and in some cases, as shown, asking for the student to be ordained in Geneva. Secondly, the Company of Pastors would then examine the student in question and would report back to the church. Finally, the student would return to France, either ordained by the Company or with a letter of recommendation in hand, pending ordination by his own colloquy or provincial synod.

In its assessments, whether positive or negative, the Company noted both the candidate's level of participation in academic exercises and his proficiency and practice in areas of practical training. In a letter written in July 1582, the Company of Pastors reported on the student Jean Corneille to the church of Nîmes. Corneille had been in the city for 13 months when the letter was written. The Company declared that his doctrine was orthodox, and that he had defended theses successfully in the theological disputations. The Genevan ministers did note, however, that his style was more ostentatious than was appropriate both in his expounding of Scripture and in the disputations. The Company's assessment of Corneille's behaviour was even more negative. They found him to be unsettled and somewhat overconfident, and rather unreliable, since the Genevan letter recounted that Corneille had left the city very suddenly, leaving debts behind.⁶³ Clearly, the Company had little hesitation in providing negative assessments of students if necessary.

On 9 December 1584, the Company of Pastors sent a letter of recommendation to the church of Privas, concerning the student Jean Valetton, who matriculated in Geneva in 1582. 'As regards his doctrine, having heard him expound various passages of Scripture several times, and after having had him practice for a time by preaching in one of our parishes in the area, we have always found him to hold a pure and complete doctrine. He also possesses a certain ability for teaching and for making himself heard. With God's help, he will develop these skills. And as for his

⁶³ RCP IV, pp. 429-31. The Company of Pastors to the church of Nîmes, July 1582.

morals, he has always lived here in a Christian and peaceful manner, so that we can but hope that he will bear good fruit'.⁶⁴

For their part, the churches recognised the importance of Geneva's opinion as to the readiness of their students, and relied on Genevan advice in order to obtain students who had received the best possible training. For example, the church of Montpellier wrote to the Company of Pastors on 29 September/9 October 1584, to find out whether the Company thought it better to have the Montpellier-sponsored Jean Gigord go to Heidelberg and other German universities, 'so as to travel a bit and to acquire in this way a bit of honest and holy boldness, through seeing and hearing the good and wise individuals who are in these universities', or to go straight to Montpellier because of his poor health. The church of Montpellier closed its letter by stating, 'Gentlemen, we leave this matter entirely to your judgement, since you are among those who know the said Gigord's capacities best, and whether he is still able to take up the occupation to which he had dedicated himself'.⁶⁵ The value placed by the churches waiting for a new minister on Geneva's assessment would suggest that even up until the first decades of the seventeenth century, Geneva's advice, at least in individual matters, was still sought after. On 17/27 July 1605, in a letter written by the church of Sainte-Marie to the Company of Pastors, recommending a former monk, the church stated that it would wait to hear from Geneva about the student's capacities before funding him beyond six months, and added, 'As for what he lacks, or what should be corrected in him, we leave the matter along with everything else to your holy prudence and discretion'.⁶⁶

The continuing role of the Genevan Company of Pastors and of the schola publica in attracting, training, examining and sending out students as ministers to France provides useful information in assessing the on-going importance of Geneva and its schola publica as a centre of Calvinist higher education up until 1620. If one could prove that the schola publica was still providing academic training to sufficiently high numbers of future ministers for France, then one could hope to show that while the focus of the schola publica changed, and while it had difficulty in retaining high-calibre foreign professors, it still fulfilled its role as a Calvinist centre of higher education. As long as prospective ministers continued to come to Geneva to matriculate in the schola publica and to receive the greater or integral part of their academic training there, then it is fair to say that the schola publica's role as a centre of Calvinist higher education continued, even until 1620. Overall, it seems

⁶⁴ RCP V, p. 305. The Company of Pastors to the church of Privas, 9 December 1584.

⁶⁵ RCP V, p. 295. The church of Montpellier to the Company of Pastors, 29 September/9 October 1584.

⁶⁶ RCP IX, pp. 304-5. The church of Sainte Marie to the Company of Pastors, 17/27 July 1605.

that approximately half of the French students matriculating in the schola publica went on to the ministry. As before, the total number of ministers may be higher, given the large proportion of French students whose later career is unknown [see graphs 12, 13, 14].

Given that a significant part of a student minister's training consisted of practical, non-academic matters, one must consider with care how far it is fair to say that the schola publica, rather than Geneva as a whole, constituted a Calvinist centre of higher education. One cannot divorce the schola publica's contribution from that of the Genevan church. Clearly, ministerial training in Geneva involved more than academic matters alone. Yet it is difficult to conceive of Geneva attaining the same importance as a centre of training for the pastorate without the presence of the schola publica. In a sense, the greatest strength of the Genevan approach may have been the combination of an academic institution and an active body of practising ministers, namely the Company of Pastors. By bringing the scholarly and practical together in Calvin's city, the Genevan authorities ensured that Geneva provided one of the most comprehensive means of preparing young men for ministry. In this context, France and the French churches were both the most important providers of students for the Reformed ministry and one of the most common destinations for those whose Genevan training had come to an end.

In the simplest case, a student who had finished training for the ministry in Geneva, who had been assessed as being ready for the pastorate by the Company of Pastors, would then return to France, to his sponsoring church if he had been sponsored, or otherwise to whichever church had called him as their minister. However, many cases were not as simple. Though the problems varied, the common factor when newly-fledged ministers experienced difficulties with their congregations, and vice-versa, was that the Genevan Company of Pastors was called in to mediate, even though the Genevan ministers' responsibilities came to an end, at least officially, once they had assessed a student's performance in Geneva and had sent him on his way.

Some former Genevan students' difficulties began even before they started work in their parishes. One problem which required diplomacy and patience arose when a student tied by financial obligations to a sponsoring church then elected to serve another congregation, much to the first's chagrin. For example, the church of Lyon, forced to stop funding its students in Geneva in 1571 because of insufficient resources, still believed that it retained a claim on their services because of prior support, so that on 27 July 1576, the company of Pastors was asked to grant the

Genevan alumni Paul Baduel and Georges Druson to the Lyon church 'from which they had received funding'.⁶⁷ On 17 August 1576, the Company firmly rejected the suggestion that the Lyon church retained any claim on the services of the two men, who in any case were being employed by the Company of Pastors at the time.⁶⁸ Sometimes the first church agreed to let the matter drop in exchange for a refund of the costs incurred in paying for the student's training. Hence, in 1599, the church of Montpellier agreed to release their sponsored student Jean Fitte to the church of Saint Jean du Gard, in return for a reimbursement of the costs of his studies.⁶⁹ Other students encountered different problems. Instead of two congregations vying for their services, they found that the one they had been assigned to did not want them, as was the case for Nicolas Le More. In other instances, the former student's own conduct in his parish prejudiced his congregation against him, as in the case of Antoine Blanc, who had been called to the church of Chalon-sur Saône in 1601. On 18/28 August 1606, the Colloquy of Chalon wrote to the Company of Pastors to complain about Blanc's behaviour. His fierce temper was causing concern to the colloquy, who reported that when Blanc was to reprimand a good-natured peasant to bring him back to the right path, Blanc so lost his temper as to draw his sword, and nearly cut the peasant's hand off. When the colloquy attempted to discipline Blanc, he insisted that he was innocent. When confronted with the facts, he then insulted various members of his consistory and swore never to minister in Chalon again. The colloquy concurred in his decision, and begged the Company of Pastors 'to send a good, faithful, and mature servant of God, leading a good and praiseworthy life, so that he might edify no less through holiness of life and good morals as through true and solid doctrine'.⁷⁰ Once again, the Genevan authorities were called upon well beyond students' years of training in Geneva.

Even when Geneva's former students had been in the ministry for a while, situations still cropped up leading the alumni to go back and consult their former mentors. For instance, beginning in March 1613, François de Combles contacted the Company of Pastors because of the problems which the Metz church was having with his ministerial colleague Etienne Mozet, who had matriculated in Geneva in 1583. De Combles and his other fellow-ministers accused Mozet of following the ideas of Jacques Royer, a Genevan minister who had made life very difficult for the

⁶⁷ RCP IV, 27 July 1576, p. 62.

⁶⁸ RCP IV, 17 August 1576, p. 64.

⁶⁹ Stelling-Michaud Le Livre du recteur, III, p. 323.

⁷⁰ RCP IX, pp. 334-5. The Colloquy of Chalon (Couches) to the Company of Pastors, 18/28 August 1606.

Company of Pastors beginning in 1604, because of his refusal to conform to Genevan practice and allow elders and deacons to help distribute the elements of the Lord's Supper.⁷¹ De Combles complained that Mozet too was refusing to allow elders and deacons to help distribute the cup in the service.⁷² The matter was a delicate one, and the Genevan authorities could not even ascribe the conflict to two different forms of ministerial training, since both De Combles and Mozet had studied in Geneva. In essence, De Combles was asking the Company of Pastors to adjudicate the dispute. Once again, the Genevan ministers were put in a difficult position. While the Metz church had asked for Genevan assistance, the Company of Pastors was aware that its intervention might not be viewed with favour by the French synodal authorities. Treading carefully, the Company wrote to the church of Metz on 10 July 1613, '...if you intend to conform without a murmur or scandal to the opinion of the Synod of Privas, testifying to the links of communication and respect which you owe to the churches of France, we would not counsel otherwise or try to change your minds'. In the end, the Company recommended that the Metz customs ought to be followed, and stated that the matter was one of externals, rather than one of substance.⁷³ Such an approach to the problem facing Metz is particularly interesting given the Genevan ministers' persistence in the Royer case, which ended in Geneva with Royer's excommunication in July 1605.

The Company of Pastors was also called upon in cases where former students needed the Genevan ministers' testimony about events which occurred during their student days. One such alumnus was Tobie Yolland, from La Rochelle, who had matriculated in the schola publica in 1581. On 18/28 December 1604, he wrote to the Company to complain that after six honourable years in the ministry, he was being slandered by a local Protestant in his parish of Vitry-le-François. His opponent, a controller named Aubri, claimed Yolland had committed adultery with a woman known as 'La Piemante' during his time in Geneva, and subsequently in Lausanne. In order to refute the charges, Yolland asked the Company to send a letter of testimony as to his conduct in Geneva.⁷⁴ On 11 January 1605, the Company noted in its registers 'it is agreed that we shall give him a general testimony without specifying anything about La Piemante, for we know he had nothing to do with that. Without looking back at his youth, we will declare only that which will serve for the

⁷¹ On Royer, see RCP IX, introduction pp. XII-XVI.

⁷² BPU, Ms Fr 421, fol. 78-9. The church of Metz to the Company of Pastors, 31 March 1613.

⁷³ BPU, Ms Fr 421, fol. 86-7. The Company of Pastors to the church of Metz, 10 July 1613.

⁷⁴ RCP IX, p. 267. Tobie Yolland (Vitry-le-François) to the Company of Pastors, 18/28 December 1604.

honour of our brother's ministry'.⁷⁵ The Company's somewhat ambiguous reaction is understandable, for the registers of the Small Council on 10 June 1582, state that Yolland and another student had been arrested for fornication along with Jeanne, daughter of a certain Martin, and that all three were being put out of Geneva's territory.⁷⁶ Consequently, it was more difficult for the Company to provide an entirely laudatory testimony about Yolland in 1605, given what had happened in 1582. In the end, Geneva remained the reference point whose assessment and advice carried weight, even in cases where the student seeking help had long since left the city. The ties between Geneva and its alumni far outlasted their course of study.

Between 1559 and 1620, French students made up the highest proportion of those matriculating in Geneva's schola publica. Furthermore, the percentage of French students coming to Geneva and then entering the ministry, as compared with the total number of students remained high, even into the 17th century. The lack of any noticeable decrease in that percentage over the period suggests that in spite of the opening of various Huguenot academies, the schola publica held its own and was able to continue attracting the French.

The continuing large numbers of French students, coupled with the growing demands from the French synods that Geneva conform to French practices led to tension in training. While academic standards were rarely criticised, apart from the French synods' wish to see more foundation and less flourish from students in their disputations, practical training was more controversial. One side claimed that practice in preaching was simply another facet of students' training, while the other side argued that even students preaching occasionally had to be ordained first, to preserve ecclesiastical order in the churches. While overall the French church saw Geneva as an important centre of training for its future clergy, it found it difficult, particularly from a distance, to ensure that students were conforming to French procedures. In essence, the Genevan ministers were caught between two groups: individual French congregations, whose need for ministers was so great that they were prepared to set rules and regulations aside, and the institutional French church, whose greatest fear was of disorder and lack of unity. Geneva therefore had to be all things to all people, and its role as a centre of Calvinist higher education varied in the eyes of French Calvinists according to the demands which the French churches made.

⁷⁵ RCP IX, 11 January 1605, p. 60.

⁷⁶ RC 77, fol. 112, 10 June 1582.

Chapter VII: Zurich and the Genevan Academy

Though it is fair to say that much of Geneva's energies and interests were directed towards France and French affairs, Geneva also forged links eastwards with the Swiss cities, particularly with those which were Reformed. Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Basle and Schaffhausen in particular often made common cause, to present as unified a Reformed block as possible especially when dealing with the various German states or the German empire as a whole.¹ As an independent city, threatened by Catholic Savoy in particular, Geneva could not afford to rely on France alone. Instead, in the political realm at least, Geneva survived due to a web of alliances contracted principally with its Swiss neighbours.²

In the realm of education as well, one cannot discuss Geneva's role as a centre of Calvinist higher education between 1559 and 1620 in relation to France alone. A consideration of Geneva's educational links with the Swiss cities is especially valuable in determining Geneva's overall educational standing. Zurich makes an especially interesting case study, both because of the particularly close links between the two cities and because Zurich also had a centre of higher education, the Lectorium, developing from the Prophezei in the 1530s. By looking first at Zurich's own institution and at that city's educational practice, secondly at the educational exchanges between the two cities, and finally, by comparing the two cities' methods of training their own young men, one can evaluate more accurately Geneva's contribution to higher education.

In 1523, the city council of Zurich agreed to the creation of a theological school under Huldrych Zwingli's leadership. Prior to the Reformation, the canons of the Grossmünster, Zurich's cathedral church, had run a Latin school, which from time to time had attracted more well-known teachers, but had otherwise been unremarkable. Another Latin school had also been set up in the Fraumünster, Zurich's second most important church. However, these were no more than Latin schools, and therefore, those wanting further scholarly training for the priesthood in particular were forced to go elsewhere, to Vienna, Paris, Heidelberg, Bologna or Pisa before returning to Zurich. There, they were examined by the Grossmünster canons as to their

¹ See for instance RCP IV, p. 349. Theodore Beza to the ministers of Berne and Zurich, 3 January 1581, re the situation of Reformed Protestants in Strasbourg.

² Roget, Peuple de Genève, II, pp. 203-6, alliance with Berne renewed; VI, pp. 176-7, declarations of mutual support from Fribourg to Geneva.

capacities in and knowledge of canonical writings, pastoral care, and liturgical singing.³

However, once Zwingli and his colleagues had convinced Zurich's magistrates that the path to Reformation was the one to follow, once the Mass was forbidden and the convents and monasteries were closed, education, like other services such as poor relief, had to be reworked in a new context, with a new set of assumptions.

In common with Reformers and humanist educators in other cities, Zwingli's educational policy was intended to meet several objectives. On the one hand, he wanted to train the coming generations in theology coupled with a good grounding in the humanities and ancient languages, and on the other hand, it was vital to train future ministers in scriptural exegesis. The aim was not merely to ensure that all clergy were familiar with the whole of Scripture and could base their sermons on the Word of God alone as was required in Reformed practice. The prime reason for the emphasis on exegesis based on the original languages was so that these ministers would acquire a right understanding of Scripture, making them the upholders of orthodoxy against splinter groups, such as the Anabaptists.⁴ In other words, it was not enough for clergy to know the Bible and to be able to use the material it contained. Instead, they had to be trained or retrained in the proper use of Scripture based on exegetical work and grounded in the original texts and languages. Further research on the rural clergy of Zurich has shown, however, that in the case of the rural ministers in particular during the early years of the Reformation, there was a gap between the ideal theological training described above and the lower standards of theological and preaching ability which the Zurich synod was forced to accept, due to the lack of more able clergy.⁵

The theological school planned by Zwingli and originally known as the Prophezei or prophecy, functioned during the early years from 1525 until after Zwingli's death in 1531 both as a centre of continuing education for ministers with parishes, and as a training centre for young men prior to entering the ministry. The Prophezei was open to all, clergy and lay-people at no cost, and took place daily starting in 1525. Clergy from the city, some from the surrounding area, as well as student ministers would gather in the morning in the choir stalls of the Grossmünster, each with a Bible in hand. After a prayer, a student would read out

³ Hans Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen von der Reformation bis zur Gründung der Universität 1525-1833' in E. Gagliardi, H. Nabholz, and J. Strohl Die Universität Zürich 1833-1933 und Ihre Vorläufer (Zurich, 1938), pp. 4, 10.

⁴ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', pp. 3-4.

⁵ Bruce Gordon, Clerical Discipline and the Rural Reformation: The Synod in Zurich 1532-1580 (Berne, 1992), pp. 147, 177-84.

the Scripture passage for the day from the Vulgate. Then, the minister knowledgeable in Hebrew, initially Jacob Ceporin in 1525, would present the Hebrew version of the same passage, explaining any difficulties, and translating the Hebrew back into Latin as a source of comparison. Following that, Zwingli himself would adopt the same approach for the Greek version. One of the city ministers, usually Leo Jud in the early years, would then gather together all that had been said and preached a German sermon on the passage primarily for the lay-people who arrived at that point.⁶ It must be noted that the Prophezei, like the Genevan congrégation, involved a certain amount of discussion and debate among those in attendance, rather than being a series of straight-forward lectures. The discussion element is understandable given that both those leading the exegesis and those listening to it were for the most part colleagues.

These continuing education sessions in Zurich's Prophezei were undoubtedly helpful to ministers in their preaching, by providing the clergy with the exegetical tools to build an orthodox Reformed position. However, the loosely structured system, open to all, in which various city ministers contributed their knowledge had other bases apart from the need to provide further semi-formal linguistic and theological training for Zurich's clergy.

Unlike Geneva, where enough funds and professors were assembled at the same time so that the Academy could open in near-complete and workable form in 1559, the Zurich centre of higher education faced great difficulties in bringing together both the funds and the personnel required. Though the Zurich city council had agreed to the creation of the Prophezei in 1523, the two first readers, Zwingli and Ceporin, were only able to begin teaching in 1525. The reasons behind this two-year gap were largely financial. The Prophezei differed from the congrégation in that the former was intended as a permanent daily fixture, with salaried exegetes, whereas the congrégation was a weekly event which each minister led in turn. The posts of the exegetes in the Prophezei were to be funded from the benefices of the pre-Reformation canons of the Grossmünster. The Zurich magistrates acted humanely towards the canons who elected to stay in Zurich following the Reformation, and allowed them to retain the income from their benefices during their lifetime. While the canons were undoubtedly glad that their financial support was not to be taken away from them, Zwingli and his colleagues were left in a difficult position. The magistrates' policy meant that an exegete could only be furnished with a salaried post when a canon died. Thus, the Prophezei was only equipped with staff on a gradual basis.⁷ After Zwingli and Ceporin, Johann Jakob

⁶ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 6.

⁷ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', pp. 4-5.

Ammann and Rudolf Collin were appointed to a shared benefice in 1526. They led the Greek exegesis on alternate weeks, while Zwingli took over the concluding section of the Prophezei in German on a daily basis. Also in 1526, Ceporin's early death left the Hebrew exegete's post vacant, leading to the appointment of Konrad Pellican, previously in Basle. Pellican's appointment was somewhat controversial, as he was not a citizen of Zurich. From the start the magistrates and citizens of Zurich advocated that Zurich citizens alone should be appointed to the Prophezei, but Zwingli successfully resisted such pressures. For instance, for a brief period in 1529, Andreas Karlstadt, Luther's former colleague and later opponent, taught civil law alongside the Prophezei after he had fled Germany.⁸

After Zwingli's death at Kappel in 1531, the Prophezei's financial future looked bleak. Because the magistrates felt that the ministers were in part to blame for the fiasco at Kappel, Zurich's city council decided to take the funds drawn from the former benefices of the Grossmünster and apply these to the war costs. The ministers vigorously resisted the scheme, protesting that the Council's plans would jeopardise the educational system and would make it impossible to train young men for the ministry in their local surroundings.⁹

By 1532, Heinrich Bullinger had replaced Zwingli as the city's chief minister and as Schulherr or director of educational affairs in Zurich. Because of his many responsibilities, he had little time for actual teaching, so Theodore Bibliander, a foreign languages specialist and a reputable orientalist was appointed in his place.¹⁰ For his part, Bullinger reorganised the Latin schools. The boys were separated into four, and later five different levels. As in Latin schools elsewhere, pupils learned Latin and Greek through the study of grammar and Classical texts. In Zurich, the boys were introduced to Hebrew in the highest class. In terms of standards, the Latin schools in Zurich followed the progressive structure advocated by Renaissance educators, so that examinations were held to decide whether pupils could move from one class to the next.¹¹ Bullinger and his colleagues saw the Latin schools as preparation for theological training, as the latter simultaneously began to adopt a more formal, academic structure. The Prophezei, with its discussion-group character, gradually diminished in importance until it became little more than the

⁸ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 12.

⁹ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 9; Hans Ulrich Bächtold, Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat: Zur Gestaltung und Verwaltung des Zürcher Staatwesens in den Jahren 1531 bis 1575 (Berne, 1982), p. 116.

¹⁰ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 9.

¹¹ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', pp. 10, 34; Pamela Biel, Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy 1535-1575 (Berne, 1991), pp. 180-1.

morning sermon.¹² In spite of this transformation, practising ministers and candidates for the ministry who had completed their academic requirements and were waiting for a parish still attended some or all of the lectures in theology.¹³

The scholars who have dealt in greater or lesser depth with higher education in Zurich after the Reformation generally agree that after Zwingli's death and Bullinger's appointment, a change took place in theological training and higher education in Zurich in general. This change is understood in different ways, and the confusion is made worse by the varying terminology used to describe the forms of higher training available in Zurich at the time. While Pamela Biel argued that the Prophezei remained largely the same under Zwingli and Bullinger, though she did note the existence of a 'College' by the end of Bullinger's tenure, Gordon suggested, quoting Zürcher, that the Prophezei turned increasingly towards group scriptural exegesis. However, in fact Zürcher argued the opposite. According to him, after Kappel there was a shift away from scriptural exegesis towards a broader curriculum incorporating rhetoric, dialectics, classical philosophy, and later on, natural sciences. Yet Zürcher did not specify whether the Prophezei itself changed, or whether a new institution was founded.¹⁴ For his part, Nabholz argued that the theological lectures acquired an independent existence and became gradually separate from the Prophezei.¹⁵

Nabholz and Zürcher's views appear to be the most sustainable. The move from the Prophezei to a more structured and broader-based curriculum parallels the evolution in Geneva, for instance, from Calvin and his colleagues' public exegetical lectures on the Scriptures to the foundation of the Genevan Academy. The theological school in Zurich is known variously in secondary literature as the Pfarrerschule, the Carolinum, the Collegium, or the Lectorium.¹⁶ The Lectorium will be the term used hereafter, as it is the one used in the most recent source dealing specifically with Zurich's educational institutions.¹⁷

Beginning in the 1530s, the Lectorium acquired a definite structure and system. Following four or five years spent in the Latin schools, which they entered at about 13, the young men intending to pursue their studies in Zurich began in the Lectorium at 17 or 18. There they would receive further training in rhetoric and

¹² Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 11; Christoph Zürcher, Konrad Pellican's Wirken in Zürich 1526-1556 (Zurich, 1975), p. 37.

¹³ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 11.

¹⁴ Biel, Doorkeepers, pp. 179, 182-3; Gordon, Clerical discipline, p. 180; Zürcher, Konrad Pellican, p. 37.

¹⁵ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 11.

¹⁶ Biel, Doorkeepers, p. 179; Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 5.

¹⁷ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', passim.

dialectics, and would attend lectures on Classical Greek texts, on the languages of Scripture and on exegesis. After 1556, Peter Martyr Vermigli also lectured in the Lectorium on dogmatics and ethics. In order to put into practice what they had learned, the students engaged in disputations, practised translating from Greek into Latin, and gave trial sermons.¹⁸

A comparison of the roles played by Beza in the schola publica and by Bullinger in the Lectorium leads to the following conclusions. Both men held similar positions in their respective churches and centres of higher study. Yet Beza seemed more willing than Bullinger to open the schola publica to other avenues than theology, encouraging medicine and law in particular. It does not seem that Bullinger advocated the same widening of approach, although the funding problems which he faced were difficult enough without considering expansion. Bullinger did ensure that Conrad Gesner, a native of Zurich who had studied in Bourges and Paris, was authorised to teach a course in natural sciences combined with ethics in the Lectorium in 1541. Gesner's post became an official chair in 1558, although his status and salary remained lower than that of his colleagues, so that he had to supplement his income by becoming one of the city's medical doctors.¹⁹ Gesner's lower salary, originally fixed at 30 Gulden, compared unfavourably with that of his colleagues, who were receiving between 50 and 100 Gulden, and indicates something of the clear subordination of non-theological studies in Zurich. In his Haußbuch, a collection of sermons published in Berne in 1558, Bullinger wrote, 'As well, it is well-known that the liberal arts serve to explain and illuminate something, so that they are used for a good reason and a right reverence for God, but one must always leave the mastery to Holy Scripture, and all foreign and separate areas of knowledge must be subject to it'.²⁰

Bullinger's chief interest lay in theology and in training enough men in Zurich's Lectorium to ensure that the 130 pastoral posts in Zurich and its dependencies were filled. Addressing the city council in Zurich in 1532, Bullinger said, 'My lords, for our city and countryside you must have 130 people. After a time, how will we find such people? Or how do you intend to have an obedient, truly God-fearing people without the Word of God?'²¹ Not only did Bullinger insist that the Grossmünster funds ought not to be applied to other purposes such as war costs, but he also urged the magistrates to recommend to other towns on their territory the provision of scholarships for citizens' children. His proposals met with uneven

¹⁸ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', pp. 11-14.

¹⁹ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', pp. 12, 21.

²⁰ Bächtold, Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat, p. 230.

²¹ Bächtold, Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat, p. 191.

success. As was the case in other places throughout the consolidation phase of the 16th century, parents, especially those with a certain level of income, were unwilling to direct their sons into a profession which offered little financial stability, and which demanded years of training.²² The period of study required was expensive, if only in terms of the costs of room and board.²³ In response, and in order to encourage gifted men who could perhaps otherwise not afford it, Bullinger recommended the creation of cost-free residences and maintenance scholarships, whereby students for the ministry could have their training costs partly or wholly covered.²⁴

Apart from training future ministers, the Lectorium fulfilled an important role in its founders' eyes as a training ground for future professors for the Lectorium itself. By the 1550s, the Greek and Hebrew courses began to be taught in two-year stints by the deacons, the second pastors in Zurich's main churches. The teaching opportunity was a popular one, perhaps because the deacons received a small stipend in return for their efforts. In fact, the teaching appealed so much to the deacons that the school council had to institute a rule that deacons who were given the chance to teach had to promise before they began that they would keep to the two-year rule and allow the next deacon to take his turn without grumbling.²⁵ The attempt to foster local teaching talent was one which the magistrates and citizens viewed with favour. In contrast, in spite of Peter Martyr's international reputation, and even though Martyr had turned down offers to come and lecture in Heidelberg in favour of Zurich, Bullinger had great difficulty in obtaining the city council's consent to replace the deceased Pellican with the famous Italian in 1556.²⁶ By 1562, the Council and citizens had won the battle, and legislation was passed, so that chairs in the Lectorium could only be offered to citizens of Zurich.²⁷ While such a move would encourage local professors to make their talents known and to put these talents to use, it is difficult to see the restriction on all but Zurich citizens as a positive move for the Lectorium and its international reputation. The danger, which Bullinger was conscious of, was that the Lectorium would become only a backwater, a shadow on the scene of higher learning.

Overall, the Zurich Lectorium remained a smaller institution than the Genevan schola publica, with a more regional focus than its Genevan counterpart.

22 Bernard Vogler, Le Clergé Protestant Rhénan au siècle de la Réforme (1555-1619) (Paris, 1976), p. 20.

23 Bächtold, Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat, p. 191.

24 Bächtold, Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat, p. 192.

25 Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 13.

26 Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 25.

27 Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 28.

Given that there was little effort to expand the curriculum beyond theology and arts, Zurich could not compete in international attractiveness with Geneva, particularly in the heyday of legal studies in the 1570s in the latter institution. Instead, the Lectorium concentrated on training ministers and on providing a basic level of higher education to those who matriculated there. The Lectorium matriculation list is even more incomplete than Geneva's, as there are no records prior to 1559, in spite of the Lectorium's beginnings in the 1530s, and there are no names recorded for the years 1575-77, 1581, 1583-91, 1593, 1595, 1597, 1599, 1602-03, 1605-08, 1614 and 1620. A total of 529 students matriculated in the Lectorium between 1559 and 1620. Even if one assumed that in the years for which the matriculation lists are blank, the pattern and level of attendance continued, one would only end up with a total of approximately 800 students, less than a third of the Genevan total for the same period.

Out of the 529 students who did matriculate, 209 came from Zurich itself while 320 students came from other locations. A total of only 31 students from France, 27 from the German states, and 23 from eastern Europe matriculated in the Lectorium between 1559 and 1620. In contrast, almost exactly half of the non-Zurich students, 156 young men, were Swiss students from other areas. These can be divided into two categories: those who came from cities and areas equal in status and confessional allegiance to Zurich within the confederation, and those from areas under the confederation's rule, or which were confessionally divided, such as Graubünden, in south-eastern Switzerland. Graubünden was the largest single provider of non-Zurich students to the Lectorium, since 64 students from Graubünden matriculated in the Lectorium in the period. In many cases, Zurich provided funds for the students coming to the Lectorium from areas which were confessionally divided, as was Graubünden. Alice Denzler, in her work on the care of the young in the early confederation, noted that such funds were reserved for poor and worthy non-Zurich scholars, and that there was a limit on the number who could receive such aid. Those who did not measure up to expectations, or who chose not to continue their studies, particularly in theology, had to refund any money already received and had their scholarship taken away.²⁸ For instance, it is possible that up to 30 students from Graubünden at a time were sponsored by the Zurich authorities to study in Zurich, but it is difficult to differentiate between those attending the Lectorium and those in the Latin schools.²⁹ The fact that half the

²⁸ Alice Denzler, Jugendfürsorge in der alten Eidgenossenschaft: Ihre Entwicklung in den Kantonen Zürich, Luzern, Freiburg, St. Gallen und Genf bis 1798 (Zurich, 1925), p. 96.

²⁹ Nabholz, 'Zürichs Höhere Schulen', p. 13.

students matriculating in the Lectorium were Swiss indicates how far its appeal was purely regional, as compared with the greater international appeal of Geneva.

Finally, Zurich's Lectorium served as a centre of training in the humanities and in theology for Zurich's own students. The Zurich magistrates and ecclesiastical authorities encouraged the enrolment of Zurich students, and provided them with scholarships ranging from 10 to 40 florins a year.³⁰ The Zurich authorities proved much more adept at attracting their own young men to the Lectorium than their counterparts were in attracting young Genevans into the schola publica. 209 students out of the total of 529 enrolments in the Lectorium were from Zurich. In contrast, out of the 2672 students who matriculated in the schola publica between 1559 and 1620, only 216 were Genevans.

Various hypotheses can be advanced to explain this discrepancy. Firstly, it is possible that young citizens' pattern of attendance in Zurich's Lectorium was similar to that of Genevans in the schola privata. Although no list of names survives for the schola privata, it was originally intended to provide education primarily for young Genevans.³¹ One could claim that the high numbers of Zurich's young men in the Lectorium mirrored the highly Genevan character of the schola privata, rather than the more international enrolment of the schola publica. However, in that case, and bearing in mind the low overall enrolment in Zurich as compared with Geneva, one is led to the conclusion that the standard of training in Zurich's Lectorium was lower than in Geneva's schola publica. If the Zurich institution offered less advanced training, it is understandable that fewer people came to Zurich to study there, and that its appeal was mainly regional and to its own citizens.

In the end, the most likely explanation for the enrolment figures may be a multi-faceted one. Firstly, due to the language difference, German-speaking Zurich did not hold as much appeal for French students, who made up the majority of those matriculating in Geneva. Secondly, Geneva was in a better location geographically for students travelling from Italian universities to those in the north, and vice-versa, than was Zurich. While going north to Germany presented few geographical obstacles, a trip from Zurich to Italy meant going over alpine passes, unless one was prepared to take the longer route which led westwards, essentially through Geneva, before going south. Thirdly, Zurich's narrower focus on theology and humanities meant that those interested in law in particular had to go elsewhere, including to Geneva. Finally, there seems to have been little push in Zurich to create an institution capable of rivalling universities and other academies through its range of subjects, nor was there any move to establish degrees. In contrast, Geneva's short-

³⁰ Bächtold, Heinrich Bullinger vor dem Rat, p. 215.

³¹ Borgeaud, Histoire, pp. 34-5.

lived attempt to have eventual degrees of the schola publica recognised indicates something of the Genevan authorities' ambitions for their centre of higher education. The Lectorium remained a largely local and regional institution, both because of its location and more gradual development, and because the Zurich authorities' educational strategy did not depend entirely on their local institution.

Instead, they pursued a two-tiered training policy. Those who were deemed capable enough for the ministry received their basic training in the Lectorium. A certain number of students who completed the Zurich curriculum were then sent to complete and enhance their studies in other universities, and were granted a 40 florin scholarship to do so. Denzler argued that only the most able and trustworthy students were sent to study in other centres of learning, and added that they were examined upon their return. She also noted that while the clear majority of the scholarships for foreign study were for future ministers, Zurich also provided scholarships in the middle of the 16th century for future city physicians, although that project did not last long.³² The numbers of those who are listed as receiving scholarships for study elsewhere between 1559 and 1620 totals 112, although the list is probably incomplete. Most of the names are listed between 1562 and 1591, when records were kept both in the matriculation register of the Lectorium and in the Catalogi Scholae Tigurini of the names and in many instances, of the locations to which the students were sent. On average, each student was sponsored for 2 years of study, although some were sponsored for up to 9 years. For instance, Adrian Frisius was sponsored every year between 1573 and 1581, for three years' study in Heidelberg, one in Strasbourg, one in an unknown location, and four in Vienna. The other student sponsored for nine years was Marcus Baümler, who received funds in 1580, 1583, from 1585-89 and from 1591-92. Unfortunately, the registers do not record his places of study, except in 1580 when he went to Tübingen. The 112 students known to have been sponsored attended a total of 13 centres of higher education, ranging from Oxford, Paris, and Vienna, to the more popular German centres of learning, although in many cases, only the name of the student, and not his place of study, survives. Overall, the location to which most Zurich students were sent was Basle, where 31 sponsored students matriculated, followed by Heidelberg with 23, and Marburg and Wittemberg with 16 each. Next is Geneva, where 7 students were sent.

Although these figures are incomplete, they do show that Zurich's educational policy differed from that of Geneva in that the Zurich authorities used their own institution more as a springboard for the most talented to study elsewhere, rather than having the be-all and end-all of training in Zurich alone.

³² Denzler, Jugendfürsorge, p. 108.

In order to establish in more detail the differences between Geneva and Zurich's systems of higher education, it is worth examining the relations between the two cities in educational matters from 1559 to 1620. The sources for a study of the educational links between Geneva and Zurich between 1559 and 1620 are mainly letters and the registers of both cities. Beza and Bullinger in particular carried on a voluminous correspondence, published up to 1574. The Registers of the Genevan Small Council also provide information on students from both cities. Finally, the matriculation lists of the schola publica and of the Lectorium, incomplete though they be, provide names and numbers of students from Zurich in Geneva and from Geneva in Zurich.

Throughout the period, those teaching in the centres of higher study in each city were aware of one another's existence. On 4 October 1559, Peter Martyr wrote to Beza from Zurich to congratulate him on the creation of the Academy and on Beza's appointment as its rector.³³ The first students from Zurich, Johann Faesi and Jakob Ulrich, matriculated in the Genevan schola publica in 1561. On 25 March 1561, Beza wrote to the Zurich minister Johann Wolf, assuring him that he would look after the students recommended by Zurich, stating, 'With God's favour, we shall accomplish this task, so as to fulfil your wishes and to give to these young men all the assistance needed for their studies and for their instruction in the holy life. We are sure that in turn you will do the same for our students whom we commend and send to you through our unity in Christ's church, and also for those whom I hope we will send in future'.³⁴ On paper at least, Beza saw the sending of students as a two-way street.

In the first five years of the schola publica's existence, 12 Zurich students spent periods of up to two years there. In each case, Geneva was these students' only stop in a French-language environment. Realistically, given the uncertain state of affairs in France in the 1560s, the only other option for the Zurich students was the Academy of Lausanne. However, in the 1560s, Lausanne's academy was still in a slump after it lost most of its professors to Geneva in 1559.³⁵ For students wishing to study in a French-language environment, Geneva represented the best option.

The role of language training in the appeal of the schola publica for the Zurich authorities and in the Lectorium's appeal for Genevans is worth greater consideration. One can suggest that the prospect of learning French was one of Geneva's greatest attractions for Zurich students. Otherwise, Geneva's schola

³³ Aubert, Correspondance, III, p. 25.

³⁴ Aubert, Correspondance, III, p. 93.

³⁵ Vuilleumier, Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée, I, p. 672.

publica was an academy like Zurich's, unable to award degrees. If training in an academy had held such appeal, one would expect to find Zurich students attending other academies in equal numbers. Instead, a preponderance of Zurich students who matriculated in Geneva, but also in other centres of learning, tended to matriculate in other universities rather than in other academies. Of the 55 Zurich students in Geneva between 1559 and 1620, 3 attended the Academy of Lausanne, 1 the Academy of Altdorf, 1 that of Herborn, and 1 that of Saumur. In contrast, 8 matriculated in the university of Marburg, 9 in Heidelberg, and 16 in Basle. It is clear that in the case of those matriculating in Geneva, further study in universities was preferred to academies, and that there must have been a factor or combination of factors making Geneva particularly attractive to students from Zurich.

The important place of language in education also played a role in the appeal of study in Zurich for Genevans. In 1560, the Genevan authorities launched a project to send pupils to Zurich to learn the language. In July 1560, the Registers of the Small Council indicated, 'It is agreed that students should be sent to Germany to learn the language and study it, so as to be able to use it in future in public office'.³⁶ The Genevan interest in having students learn German arose from the problems faced by the Genevan magistrates in their diplomatic negotiations and judicial appeals in July 1558 with Swiss cities such as Berne and Basle, which insisted that debates had to take place in German. Though the Genevans pointed out that they had too few councillors who spoke and understood German, the authorities of Berne and Basle would not compromise. As the Genevan Small Council wrote to that of Berne, 'To say that justice will be done to us, when our judges will be as if they were deaf, is like asking us to go to Lausanne by way of the lake, but without a boat'.³⁷ In order to eliminate such problems in future, the Genevan magistrates decided to send four Genevan pupils to Zurich, to learn the language.

Interestingly, the magistrates selected pupils of the schola privata, rather than students in the schola publica to be given funds to study in Zurich. However, given that only two native Genevans had matriculated in the schola publica by 1560, the choice of Genevan candidates from that quarter was rather limited. On 27 August 1560, prior to their departure, the four pupils appeared before the magistrates to be told that if following their training they decided not to serve the magistracy of Geneva, they would have to repay the entire cost of their studies in Zurich.³⁸

³⁶ RC 56, fol. 64, 30 July 1560. In the eyes of Genevans, 'Germany' included all areas where German (or a variety thereof) was spoken.

³⁷ Roget, Peuple de Genève, V, p. 138.

³⁸ RC 56, fol. 73, 27 August 1560.

The Genevan magistrates received favourable reports on their pupils' progress in August 1561 and again in April 1562.³⁹ On the basis of these reports, the Small Council renewed the pupils' bursaries in September 1562 and sent two more Genevan boys to Zurich in October of the same year.⁴⁰ The magistrates did note, however, that if the pupils failed to complete the course, their parents would have to repay the entire cost of the scholarship to the Genevan public purse.⁴¹

On 8 October 1563, Beza wrote to Bullinger, asking him to watch over the behaviour of the Genevan pupils in Zurich on behalf of the Genevan Small Council. 'If perchance some of them are not fulfilling their duties as pious and studious youths, please write to us immediately'.⁴² It may be that unfavourable reports were already reaching Genevan ears, for by May 1564, the Registers of the Small Council noted that the pupils in Zurich were not doing very well, and the Council urged them to do their duty.⁴³ By the end of September 1564, the Genevan magistrates learned that the plague had appeared in Zurich, even in houses where Genevan pupils were staying. The Genevans decided to recall their pupils from Zurich.⁴⁴ On 30 October 1564, the pupils were examined as to their progress by Beza. He found that they had made little headway in German, and therefore, the scheme was abandoned.⁴⁵

Though having civic officials able to speak and understand German would have been highly useful for Geneva, particularly in its dealings with the Swiss cities, no further attempt was made by the magistrates before 1620 to sponsor their students for a period of study in a German-language environment.

In fact, there are very few instances of the Genevan magistrates providing any funds for its citizens to study elsewhere in the period. The civil authorities were more keen to attract foreign students to Geneva than to sponsor their own young men. For instance, in 1584, the Genevan Small Council made sure that the new matriculation fee, that did not apply to Genevans, would not apply to Swiss students either.⁴⁶ This measure can be seen as one among many designed to boost and maintain non-Genevan enrolments. The magistrates did sometimes provide funds for needy and worthy Genevans to study in the *schola publica* as in 1578, when they provided bursaries of 120 florins a year to three students, François Paquelet, Pierre

³⁹ RC 56, fol. 223, 5 August 1561; RC 57, fol. 45, 23 April 1562.

⁴⁰ RC 57, fol. 121, 15 September 1562; fol. 138, 16 October 1562.

⁴¹ RC 57, fol. 137, 15 October 1562.

⁴² Aubert, *Correspondance*, IV, p. 215.

⁴³ RC 59, fol. 49, 29 May 1564.

⁴⁴ RC 59, fol. 110, 25 September 1564.

⁴⁵ RC 59, fol. 128, 30 October 1564.

⁴⁶ RC 79, fol. 135, 6 October 1584.

Messol, and Pierre Bioley. All three were destined for the ministry. The Small Council records noted specifically that scholarships were being provided because of the need for people with an obligation to the Genevan authorities to serve as ministers.⁴⁷ From time to time, the Genevan magistrates also provided small sums of money for travel to young Genevans going to study in other cities. In April 1619, Jean Blondel asked for financial assistance, as he was leaving to pursue his studies outside Geneva. The magistrates gave him seven and a half florins.⁴⁸ Blondel had matriculated in the schola publica in 1613, after having gone through the schola privata. He first studied philosophy, and then theology from 1617 onwards. The foreign centre of learning which he had chosen to visit was Leiden, where he studied theology between 1619 and 1622. Geneva's meagre support for his foreign studies certainly gave Blondel little encouragement to return to his native city, since he went on to be ordained in Leiden in 1621 before becoming a chaplain to the Walloon troops, and later a minister in The Hague from 1631 onwards. Overall, there is little evidence that any sponsorship scheme was set up by the Genevan authorities, particularly for those wanting to further their studies elsewhere. Instead, such students had to meet the cost of their studies from their own funds. One could argue that Geneva's disinclination to fund its own students' foreign training made such studies both less appealing and less possible for young Genevans. It is difficult otherwise to explain why only 71 Genevans matriculated in Heidelberg between 1559 and 1620, in comparison with 137 students from Zurich, nearly twice as many.

The educational and sponsorship policy of the Zurich authorities differed fundamentally from the Genevan approach, as the Zurich civic leaders used funds to provide scholarships for their most able students to train elsewhere. Hence the documents illustrating the educational links between Zurich and Geneva give more weight to the former as the students' starting point and the latter as recipient of these students. While 55 Zurich students are known to have matriculated in the schola publica between 1559 and 1620, only 13 Genevans appear in the matriculation lists of the Lectorium in the same period.

On 1 January 1566, Beza wrote to Bullinger that he would watch over the young Rudolf Gwalter, son of the Zurich minister of the same name, during his Genevan studies. On 19 June 1566, Beza reported to Bullinger on Gwalter's progress, and noted that he was learning good French.⁴⁹ Once again, language was the factor emphasised in the Zurich students' training. The same was true in the case of Felix

⁴⁷ RC 73, fol. 49, 13 March 1578; RCP IV, March 1578, p. 110 footnote.

⁴⁸ RC 118, fol. 73, 5 April 1619.

⁴⁹ Aubert, Correspondance, VII, pp. 18, 143.

Bibliander, whose father Theodore had been one of the foremost professors of theology in Zurich's Lectorium before his death in 1564. On 15 March 1569, Bullinger recommended Felix Bibliander to Beza's care, indicating that Bibliander wanted to come to Geneva to do an apprenticeship as an apothecary and to learn French at the same time.⁵⁰ Bibliander was not a student in the strict sense, since he did not matriculate in the schola publica, but his case is relevant in that it shows how Bullinger and Beza's correspondence was part of the collaborative effort from both cities to provide supervised training for their own young men, but also for those coming from elsewhere.

This supervision, particularly when it related like this to students in the personal circle of the town's ministers, could be very detailed. On 17 April 1569 Bullinger wrote to Beza to let him know that Bibliander was coming and that he had approximately 125 florins to pay for his boarding costs at the apothecary's. On 11 August 1569 Bullinger wrote again to Beza to ask that Bibliander be released from his obligations to the master apothecary because of the plague which infested Geneva. Bibliander was his widowed mother's only son. On 3 September Beza wrote back to Bullinger, stating that Bibliander would be on his way shortly, but that he was in quarantine at the moment, because of plague in the apothecary's own household. On 6 September Beza reported to Bullinger that Bibliander was healthy but reluctant to leave Geneva. On 9 September Bullinger ordered Bibliander via Beza to leave Geneva immediately. On 14 September Beza wrote to Bullinger that Felix Bibliander had succumbed to the plague. On 23 September Bullinger wrote of his sorrow, and of Bibliander's mother's grief at the news of her son's death, and asked for information on the circumstances of his death and on the whereabouts of his possessions, including a number of gold pieces, which Bibliander had kept in a belt.⁵¹

On 23 October, and again on 2 December, Beza provided all the details requested by Bullinger. It seemed that Bibliander had been foolhardy in insisting on visiting a friend suffering from the plague, and on sharing his sick friend's cup. Not surprisingly, Bibliander himself had then been infected. His reluctance to leave Geneva in time was linked in Beza's view to the fact that some of the money Bibliander should have had was missing. Beza informed Bullinger that Bibliander had made several bad loans to his friends, and had used his money unwisely. Beza suspected that Bibliander had not wanted to return to Zurich for fear of being punished for dissipating his funds. Bibliander's case illustrates how much contact existed between Geneva and Zurich, and how much care was taken on both sides to

⁵⁰ Aubert, Correspondance, X, p. 61.

⁵¹ Aubert, Correspondance, X, pp. 70, 148, 176, 179, 181, 183, 201.

ensure a successful and rewarding stay, even though circumstances sometimes dictated otherwise.

The educational links built between the Genevan and Zurich churches via Beza and Bullinger's correspondence even outlasted the two men, since a letter dated 30 August 1617, written by Caspar Waser, a Genevan alumnus and Lectorium professor, to Théodore Tronchin, the Genevan pastor and professor, deals in part with educational affairs. Waser thanked Tronchin for his care of Johann Heinrich Waser, his relative, who had been a student in the schola publica since 1615.⁵² Hence, not only did former students such as Caspar Waser maintain contact with Geneva, but they also began a pattern of attendance which could then lead to younger generations following in their footsteps.

On 2 April 1620, Caspar Waser penned another letter, in French, to Tronchin, transmitting his wishes for the training of two young men from Zurich, the son of M. Heber, the bailiff of Wyntelain and the son of Dr. Geiger. Waser requested that Heber be taken in by Tronchin himself as a boarder, so that he might continue his Latin and learn French well. Meanwhile, the son of Dr. Geiger was to study philosophy, so Waser asked that he be sent to Nicolas Wedel 'so that he will be taught well, both publicly and in private'. Waser also mentioned in passing that Gyger was hoping to board with 'young Hottinger'. In all likelihood, the reference is to Hans Rudolf Hottinger, who matriculated in Geneva in 1618, and remained there until 1621. He later became a minister in the canton of Zurich. Neither Heber nor Geiger is recorded in the Genevan matriculation list. Once again, the Zurich authorities manifested their interest in having their students learn French, and learn it well. Waser's instructions to Tronchin show something of the role which the Genevan schola publica played in Zurich's eyes, since Waser felt confident that he could send relatively detailed requests as to the living and study arrangements needed for each student and that Tronchin would honour these requests. Waser concluded, 'Please forgive me for the work I am giving you, as I hope you will do it with your customary courtesy and kindness towards me and towards ours'.⁵³

Little information has survived from Genevan students about their period of study in Zurich, mainly because there was no need nor obligation to write to the Genevan authorities, since the latter did not provide any funds. In contrast, letters

⁵² BPU, Arch. Tr. 29, fol. 71, 30 August 1617. Caspar Waser (Zurich) to Théodore Tronchin (Geneva).

⁵³ BPU, Arch. Tr. 29, fol. 73. Caspar Waser (Zurich) to Théodore Tronchin (Geneva), 2 April 1620. A letter in French from Zurich was unusual in that the majority of correspondence between the two cities was conducted in Latin. One could suggest that Waser was keen to show how much he remembered what he had learned during his Genevan stay.

have survived from Zurich students in Geneva, since they had to write to their civic and ecclesiastical sponsors to report on their course of study. From these letters, one can gather from the students themselves something of the nature of education in Geneva and of their experiences there. Given that the students were writing to those who had provided them with funds, allowances must be made for the laudatory and overwhelmingly positive tone of the letters. For example, on 27 December 1581, Heinrich Fabritius wrote from Geneva to the Zurich minister Burkhardt Leemann stating, 'As regards my studies, I am working hard, so as to fulfil your exhortations, along with those of my parents and of my other friends, in particular so that my parents may be proud of me'.⁵⁴ Johannes Braem, in Geneva in 1613-14, wrote to Johann Jakob Breitingen in October and November 1613, reporting on his studies, his daily activities, and his lodgings. He also indicated that he was trying to follow the advice Breitingen had sent in letters from Zurich.⁵⁵ The perspective of Johann Heinrich Grebel, who wrote from Geneva to the minister Johann Stucki in Zurich on 29 October 1592 was somewhat different. He complained to his correspondent that he had hardly any opportunity to practice his French, although it is not clear why this was the case.⁵⁶ Other Zurich students used their letters to transmit political and religious news from Geneva to the Zurich authorities. For instance, Caspar Waser wrote from Geneva in January and May 1589 to Johann Stucki, reporting first on the news from France, and then on the military situation in Geneva itself, in its war against Savoy.⁵⁷

In return, the Zurich authorities also sent letters to their students in Geneva, chiefly to remind the students of the importance of their studies. For example, the minister Johannes Wolf wrote to Jakob Ulrich and Johann Oswald Faesi on 24 June 1561, as the two were in Geneva, stating, 'Write to us about your impressions, your memories, and your studies. Farewell in the Lord. I intend to bear in mind our noble and courageous hope concerning you and your studies and inclinations'.⁵⁸ On 27 December 1581, four Zurich students in Geneva received a letter from the minister

⁵⁴ E II 379, fol. 64. Heinrich Fabritius (Geneva) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 27 December 1581.

⁵⁵ E II 385a, fol. 241. Johannes Braem (Geneva) to Johann Jakob Breitingen (Zurich), 5 October 1613; E II 385a, fol. 261. Johannes Braem (Geneva) to Johann Jakob Breitingen (Zurich), 15 November 1613.

⁵⁶ E II 380, fol. 247. Johann Heinrich Grebel (Geneva) to Johann Stucki (Zurich), 29 October 1592.

⁵⁷ E II 345a, fol. 615. Caspar Waser (Geneva) to Johann Stucki (Zurich), 23 January 1589; E II 437a, fol. 374-4b. Caspar Waser (Geneva) to Johann Stucki (Zurich), 5 May 1589.

⁵⁸ E II 358, fol. 348. Johann Wolf (Zurich) to Jakob Ulrich and Johann Oswald Faesi [Geneva], 24 June 1561.

Ludwig Lavater. Once again, the sender's primary concern was the studies and behaviour of Zurich's young men. Lavater wrote to recall three of the students, Jakob Koller, Heinrich Schwytzer, and Jakob Kumber to Zurich 'for several grave reasons' which are unfortunately unspecified in the letter. Lavater did allow the fourth student, Raphael Egli, to send his belongings to Basle, where he would receive further instructions from Zurich, sending him to Neustadt an der Haart.⁵⁹ If one examines the academic career of the four students, Kumber and Schwytzer seem to have returned to Zurich permanently, since there are no matriculation records after their years in Geneva ending in 1582. Koller and Egli, however, went on to Basle in 1582. Whatever the reason for their recall from Geneva, it does not seem to have harmed their careers, since all four men became ministers. For his part, Egli also became a professor in Zurich and later in Marburg.

The ongoing correspondence between Geneva and Zurich ministers and between Zurich students in Geneva and their mentors at home was one of the features of the academic links between the two cities. It is difficult to claim from the evidence uncovered so far that Geneva acted specifically as a centre of Calvinist higher education in Zurich's eyes. Indeed, more accurately, the Zurich authorities seem to have approved of the higher education available in Geneva both because it was Reformed and because it was in a French environment. It is, however, difficult to assess whether the educational links between the cities sprang up as a continuation and consequence of the pre-existing relations between Geneva and Zurich or whether instead Geneva's system of higher education *per se* attracted the interest of the Zurich authorities. In other words, were the educational links between Geneva and Zurich merely a facet of Genevan-Zurich relations as a whole in the period, or did Geneva's educational system attract students from Zurich for its own sake? It certainly seems as though Genevan-Zurich educational relations were enhanced by previous links built between the two cities and by the correspondence network between ministers on either side. As for Geneva's confessional status in Zurich's eyes, an examination of the other study locations chosen by the Zurich authorities for their students may help to assess whether these students' pattern of attendance in centres of learning was confessionally based.

Apart from matriculation lists from each centre of higher education, the main body of evidence as regards the impact of foreign study on Zurich students is

⁵⁹ E II 359, fol. 3117. Ludwig Lavater (Zurich) to Johann Jakob Koller, Johann Heinrich Schwytzer, Jakob Kumber, and Raphael Egli (Geneva), 1 March 1582.

contained in the letters which they sent from the universities and academies to the Zurich ministers.

The letters can be divided into several categories. The first and largest category consists of letters from students providing reports on their progress and thanking the Zurich authorities for the funds provided. Many letters also contain a section in which the student reported on political and religious news from his area, providing Zurich with useful and reasonably up-to-date information. On 22 August 1595, Johann Jakob Breitingen wrote from Franeker to Burkhardt Leemann, giving news on the situation in the United Provinces, and in Friesland in particular.⁶⁰ As in the case of those writing from Geneva, Zurich students elsewhere tended to thank their sponsors in fulsome tones. Johann Conrad Wipf, in a letter sent from Heidelberg again to Leemann, dated 21 September 1578 wrote, 'Indeed, I had doubted that our revered sponsors would receive me as one of their students. Therefore, my joy and happiness were very great when I was informed that they had conferred that favour upon me. And I ask God to make me prosper in that honour and to pour out his grace so that, being content in the use of this gift, I might be able to conform in some way to the expectations and hopes which you have conceived for me'.⁶¹ Wipf referred to his sponsors as *maecenates*, a term also used by other students in their letters of thanks to the ecclesiastical and civic authorities providing them with funds. Once again, the indications are that the clergy and magistrates of Zurich worked together in the provision of funds for study elsewhere and in the oversight of the young men in foreign centres of learning. On 17 January 1591, Johann Steiner wrote from Heidelberg to Johann Stucki, enthusing, 'As regards the curriculum and my studies, I am enjoying them and finding that they are fruitful during these travels, and I thank my sponsors very much, for they have spared no effort in promoting my studies'.⁶²

Those who reported on the progress of their studies usually indicated which courses they were taking and the names of their professors. On 29 June 1591, assessing the state of affairs in Herborn, Johann Heinrich Locher wrote to Burkhardt Leemann, 'This school flourishes exceedingly in theology and its excellent professors are its glory. In philosophy, things are inactive. As well, a certain part of the student body has left for a place near here. Master Johann Piscator lectures on the Second Letter of Peter, and Master Bernard Textor on Calvin's Institutes. Master Jodocus

⁶⁰ E II 379, fol. 132. Johann Jakob Breitingen (Franeker) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 22 August 1595.

⁶¹ E II 379, fol. 53. Johann Conrad Wipf (Heidelberg) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 21 September 1578.

⁶² E II 358a, fol. 534. Johann Steiner (Myrtilleto [Heidelberg]) to Johann Stucki (Zurich), 17 January 1591.

Nalvinus, rector of this school, explains the Sunday Gospel, and Graecus teaches the Greek language as well as Ramus dialectics. There is also a certain doctor who mixes medicine with the teaching of Master Piscator's Hebrew twice a week, and there is a doctor of law, but again none of these are philosophers, nor are they professors'.⁶³ Such information served several purposes. It enabled the Zurich authorities to keep track of their student's training and also to measure the performance of the various centres of learning before sending other students out. Hence, a letter written by Johann Conrad Wipf from the university of Heidelberg on 16 September 1579 would not have encouraged Zurich to send other students there. Wipf reported, 'As for the state of this academy, it is little better than before [...] Hugo Donellus, doctor of Law, professor, and celebrated man, has been called to Leiden. Therefore, before his examinations were to be held, he asked the university and the illustrious prince for a favour, and in the end, he was not dismissed. But as soon as the examinations were over, he resigned his rectorship, (a post which he had held this year) and requested permission to leave on his journey. As this happened at the time when Master Grynaeus was with us, Master Ludovic Gravius, a doctor of medicine, therefore took on the office of rector in place of Grynaeus, who was prorector. Soon afterwards, in a change of plan, Grynaeus himself was made rector, so that in the space of 14 days, we will have had three rectors'.⁶⁴ Wipf was attending Heidelberg when the Palatinate and the university were moving from Calvinism to Lutheranism under the new Elector Ludwig VI. Consequently, the situation in the university was unsettled, and difficult for Calvinist professors and students. In his next extant letter, written from Heidelberg on 10 April 1580, Wipf stated that he had received the latest letters from Zurich requesting him to move on to Helmstedt.⁶⁵ Clearly, the Zurich authorities were not pleased with the state of affairs in Heidelberg.

By 1591, however, after the Palatinate had returned to Calvinism, Johann Steiner could write confidently from Heidelberg to Johann Stucki, 'Now as regards the status of our academy, there is little I can observe that is hidden from you. Arts and good discipline flourish. Philosophy, theology, and the other noble faculties are blooming'.⁶⁶ The students' role in providing such information as they had on the universities and academies attended was an important one for Zurich, and the

⁶³ E II 344, fol. 257. Johann Heinrich Locher (Herborn) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 29 June 1591.

⁶⁴ E II 379, fol. 56. Johann Conrad Wipf (Heidelberg) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 16 September 1579.

⁶⁵ E II 379, fol. 59. Johann Conrad Wipf [Heidelberg] to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 10 April 1580.

⁶⁶ E II 358a, fol. 534. Johann Steiner (Myrtilleto [Heidelberg]) to Johann Stucki (Zurich), 17 January 1591.

authorities seem to have made sure that the students understood the necessity for such correspondence. In a letter sent to Burkhardt Leemann from Heidelberg on 22 July 1595, Christopher Geiger noted that he had been severely reprimanded by Johann Cellarius, a Zurich magistrate, for failing to write to Zurich and report. Geiger complained that he had in fact sent a letter but that it had never arrived at its destination.⁶⁷

Apart from thanking their sponsors for funds received and providing reports, several of the letters sent by the students also contain various requests. One request which appeared particularly in the letters from those who attended more than one place of learning was to be allowed to spend some time in yet another university or academy. For example, Johann Conrad Wipf, whose sponsors wished to send him to Helmstedt from Heidelberg, asked in the same letter whether his correspondent Burkhardt Leemann could use his influence so that Wipf could go to Neustadt an der Haart instead.⁶⁸ Wipf suggested that his studies would progress faster in Neustadt, a telling argument since more rapid progress in his studies would imply a lower cost to the Zurich authorities. He argued that he would lose no time because the course of studies in Neustadt was similar to that in Heidelberg. His wishes seem to have had little effect, since his next letter, from Frankfurt-am-Main, is dated 12 September 1580, and indicates that he had been to Helmstedt, since he noted that he had left a fellow-student from Zurich there.⁶⁹ The time gap between the letter requesting permission to go to Neustadt (April 1580) and the one from Frankfurt-am-Main (September 1580) seems too short to have allowed a stay of any length in Neustadt as well as Helmstedt.

Other letters contained more minor requests, though in certain cases these letters provide another perspective on relations between ministers and civic leaders and the students that they sent out. On 9 October 1583, Heinrich Fabritius, writing from an undisclosed location, possibly Basle where he matriculated in 1582, asked Burkhardt Leemann for assistance. 'I am inconveniencing you greatly by asking you whether you might be willing to inscribe your name in my liber amicorum as it is known, and I ask you to encourage the process and that you might see that the same request is made to Masters Gwalter, Lavater, and Bullinger. I already have Master

⁶⁷ E II 344, fol. 407-8a. Christopher Geiger (Heidelberg) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 22 July 1591.

⁶⁸ E II 379, fol. 59. Johann Conrad Wipf [Heidelberg] to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 10 April 1580.

⁶⁹ E II 379, fol. 60. Johann Conrad Wipf (Frankfurt am Main) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 12 September 1580.

Stucki's inscription'.⁷⁰ As these autograph books served in many cases as letters of introduction, it was useful for the Zurich students to have the signatures of Zurich's leading ministers.

Other requests came from students who had financial difficulties and who petitioned their Zurich sponsors to increase the amount of the scholarship which they received. One such petition occurred in a series of letters from Christopher Geiger. His letters enable one to chart his progress across the European centres of learning. In his first extant letter, from Herborn in 1593, Geiger announced that he had dedicated his theses to his correspondent Burkhardt Leemann.⁷¹ Dedicating theses to one's patrons was a common practice among students at the time, as a form of compliment. His second letter, quoted above, came from Heidelberg in 1595.⁷² In the following year, he was in Montpellier, keen on studying medicine, but wanting Zurich's advice.⁷³ The letter from Montpellier is unusual in that there are very few letters located so far which come from Zurich students in France. Overall, it appears that the higher education circuit followed by young men from Zurich largely left out France, either for confessional reasons, or because a greater number of prior contacts existed between Zurich and the German centres of learning than between Zurich and the French ones. The university of Montpellier, specialising in medicine, may have attracted Zurich students because of its curriculum, outweighing other considerations. Four months after the previous letter, Geiger wrote again from Montpellier. He explained, 'Indeed, for food and the worst lodgings in the entire city (not to mention books, clothes, and the daily necessities) I need to pay five écus soleil (as they call them) in the space of a month. Unless God rescues me in some way, this immense cost will force me to leave this flourishing academy, not without causing major harm and difficulty to my studies'. And he continued, 'I have made so much progress already in the study of medicine in such a short period, that in a very short space of time I could obtain the highest degree with distinction, if there were a way to be able to cover my costs so that again for a certain period I would be able to live in this most famous university. And again for this reason I have sent letters to the great and magnificent lords Johann Cellarius, the councillor patron and gracious sponsor of my studies, and to Johann Rudolf Rhonius, the chief administrator. If you

⁷⁰ E II 379, fol. 70. Heinrich Fabritius [n.p.] to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 9 October 1583.

⁷¹ E II 344, fol. 291. Christopher Geiger (Herborn) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 4 August 1593.

⁷² E II 344, fol. 407-8a. Christopher Geiger (Heidelberg) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 22 July 1595.

⁷³ E II 344, fol. 421. Christopher Geiger (Montpellier) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 21 June 1596.

meet them at any point, I ask you again and again to intercede for me, so that through an increased scholarship I might be able to live again for a certain period in this celebrated university and complete the curriculum of my studies'.⁷⁴ Geiger's letter is rare in that he detailed the cost of his studies. It is not known whether Zurich agreed to his plea.

These letters and others from Zurich's students play an important role in assessing the nature and effect of Zurich's educational policy, for they constitute one of the few first-hand sources in existence providing information on these travelling students. The information enables one to draw the following conclusions. Firstly, the Zurich students' foreign tour tended to stop at the same centres of learning each time. Not only were certain establishments chosen at first as destinations for Zurich students, but also, barring any difficulties or controversies, a pattern was then established whereby later students also matriculated in these same locations. Secondly, Zurich's official policy, aimed at sending their most able young men to study elsewhere enabled these students to gain a breadth of experience which they could not have acquired by remaining in Zurich, especially given the Zurich authorities' rigid use of their own citizens to staff the Lectorium chairs. Thirdly it is worth considering whether the Zurich authorities' decision to fund foreign studies was a result of the relatively regional appeal of the Lectorium or whether the Lectorium's limited development was due to the Zurich authorities' decision to send their best young men to continue their studies elsewhere.

Geneva's role as a centre of Calvinist higher education in the light of the Zurich experience requires further thought. It is apparent that in the eyes of the Zurich authorities, Geneva and its schola publica functioned as one among several worthwhile stops in the Zurich students' educational tour. Its appeal arose primarily from the long-standing ties between the two cities and from Geneva's role as a French-language centre of Reformed higher education. The calibre of the schola publica did carry weight, since neighbouring Lausanne, in a similar French-language setting, never saw the same percentage of Zurich students pass through its doors.⁷⁵ Yet for Zurich Geneva remained a centre of Calvinist higher education rather than the centre. The appeal of the German universities in particular, offering a wider range of courses and faculties, and able to attract the top professors of the day

⁷⁴ E II 344, fol. 461. Christopher Geiger (Montpellier) to Burkhardt Leemann (Zurich), 23 October 1596.

⁷⁵ According to Lausanne's matriculation list, established from 1602 onwards, only one student from Zurich matriculated in Lausanne between 1602 and 1620, Johann Rudolf Hessius, in 1610. Louis Junod, Album studiosorum Academiae Lausannensis 1537-1837 (Lausanne, 1937), II, p. 21.

proved to be too strong competition for the schola publica in terms of Zurich's students. Indeed, one can wonder whether Geneva without the prospect of learning French would have fared any better than any other academy in competition with the universities.

Chapter VIII: Heidelberg and the Genevan Academy

The academies of Geneva and Zurich represent one of the forms of Reformed higher education available in the 16th and early 17th centuries. However, the academy, created in this period to meet immediate educational needs, was only one of a variety of institutions, older and more recent, which aimed to fulfil similar goals. Among these other institutions, older universities, and particularly the university of Heidelberg, present a model which constituted both a contrast with and a challenge to academies such as Geneva.

The university of Heidelberg played a pre-eminent role in Reformation higher education, particularly after 1560, in the training of ministers and lay people in a Calvinist setting, barring a Lutheran interlude from 1576 to 1583. The university, directed by its own senate and by the wishes of successive Electors, was the pinnacle of Palatine higher education. Not only did the university serve to instruct young men from across Europe, but it was also an agent in the confessional transitions which took place in the Palatinate at this time. Heidelberg university is a pre-eminent example of the use to which centres of higher education could be put by rulers wishing to create a confessionally-uniform cadre of civil servants and ministers. As a prestigious institution, and with the backing of the Electors, Heidelberg attracted some of Europe's foremost scholars. Nevertheless, in contrast to Geneva, the minimal input of the Heidelberg church in higher education meant that training for the ministry itself was less goal-oriented than in the schola publica. Yet students from Geneva travelled to Heidelberg and vice versa, suggesting that in spite of their different approaches, both Geneva and Heidelberg had something to offer the other.

Founded in 1386 by the Papal Bull of Urban VI at the time of the papal schism, the university of Heidelberg had nearly two centuries of history behind it by the Reformation period. Over these two hundred years, the constant feature of Palatine higher education had been the influence held by successive Electors over university affairs, and their role continued in the Reformation period and beyond. Unlike in Geneva or Zurich, where two powers, the ministers and the magistrates, could compete for influence over educational affairs, the Electors faced no similar challenge to their authority. In order to understand both transformations and continuity in the university, one must bear in mind how much these were the result not only of the Elector's influence, but also of the interplay between the Electors and members of the university. In other words, changes were not merely the result of

decrees by the Elector. Instead, the reaction of university councils and of the university senate to the prince's wishes also played a significant role, leading to differences in the pace of change between the Palatinate as a whole and its university.

The first Elector Palatine who brought the Palatinate from Catholicism to Lutheranism and altered Heidelberg university's approach accordingly was Ottheinrich, Elector Palatine between 1556 and 1559. Already by 16 April 1556, Ottheinrich had put an end to Catholic worship in the Palatinate, and had promulgated a new church order.¹ By 19 December 1558, Ottheinrich had signed the extensive revised statutes of the university.² The task of revising, and in sections, creating statutes was given to a team of scholars both from within and from outside the university, including Jacob Micyllus, professor of arts in the university, Thomas Erastus, professor of medicine there, and Philipp Melanchthon, whom Ottheinrich requested as an outside expert.³ The statutes confirmed the university's organisation into faculties, complete with an administrative and disciplinary structure, including individual posts, such as deans, beadles, and rectors, as well as governing bodies such as university councils. They also confirmed the degree structure of the university, and the conditions which each candidate had to fulfil in order to obtain one of the degrees. These conditions went from the required age of the candidate to the examinations to be taken and the various fees to be paid.⁴ The statutes described the functioning of the four faculties of law, medicine, theology and arts, and outlined the responsibilities of each member of staff as well as their remuneration. Overall, there were 15 professors, 4 in law, 3 in medicine, 3 in theology, and 5 in arts, indicating how large an institution Heidelberg's university was in comparison to Geneva's *schola publica*. Ottheinrich placed a considerable emphasis on the teaching obligations of the professors, so as to ensure that the growing number of students coming to Heidelberg would receive good value in return for their matriculation and examination fees. In 1554, 62 students matriculated in Heidelberg, while in 1555, 41 did so. In the four years of Ottheinrich's reign, however, student numbers rose from 75 in 1556 to 114 in 1557, slightly down to 95 in 1558, and to 110 in 1559, a rise of

¹ Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559-1619* (Stuttgart, 1970), p. 210.

² 'Die Reformation des Kurfürsten Otto Heinrich vom 19. Dezember 1558' in *Statuten und Reformationen der Universität Heidelberg vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* ed. August Thorbecke, (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 1-156.

³ Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, p. 214, and Hautz, *Geschichte der Universität*, II, pp. 7-10.

⁴ *Statuten und Reformationen*, pp. 49-52, 68-72, 87-8, 112-29.

about 50% in the annual number of students in the period 1556-59 as compared to 1554-55.⁵ Conscious of the growth of the university, on 4 June 1558, Ottheinrich reminded his professors of their duty to lecture at the appointed times, so as to increase the reputation of the university.⁶

Although the new statutes and instructions from the Elector reinforced his authority in educational matters, there is little in the statutes about any confessional change away from Catholicism, Ottheinrich's major modification to the Palatinate as a whole. One of the few alterations is found in the statutes of the faculty of theology, where such transformations were most likely to occur. The student oath for those in the faculty of theology, and those alone, includes a sentence binding the oath-taker to refrain from teaching or holding any doctrines which are not part of the Augsburg Confession. Furthermore, the professors of theology were to exercise oversight of the sermons preached in the city of Heidelberg, so as to prevent any preacher from saying anything against 'the pure evangelical and apostolic teaching as contained in the Augsburg Confession'.⁷ Hence the division between the academic and the pastoral world in Heidelberg was not so great as to rule out surveillance of ministers' sermons by theology professors. Nonetheless apart from these sections in the statutes of the faculty of theology, there is no mention of any obligation for the students or the professors to hold particular religious beliefs. Instead, the student oaths in other faculties and the general student oath all focused on the importance of obeying the university authorities and of upholding the honour of the university.⁸ Thus the Palatinate's confessional change was reflected only in the faculty of theology's statutes, contrasting sharply with the Genevan *schola publica* in the same period, where the student oath aimed to provide a confessional framework for each student, regardless of his field of study. Between 1556 and 1559, in spite of the Palatinate's move towards Lutheranism, Heidelberg university was larger, more structured, and less confessionally-oriented than its Genevan counterpart.

Ottheinrich was succeeded by Friedrich III, whose reign lasted from 1559 until 1576. It was under his rule that the Palatinate shifted through various shades of Lutheranism to Calvinism, and became one of the most famous centres of German, if not European Calvinism. As an educational institution, Heidelberg university both

⁵ Gustav Toepke, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662 (4 vols., Heidelberg, 1884-1904), II, pp. 1-19.

⁶ Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg ed. by Eduard Winkelmann, (2 vols., Heidelberg, 1886), I, pp. 286-7.

⁷ Statuten und Reformationen, pp. 37, 55.

⁸ Statuten und Reformationen, p. 11.

influenced and was affected by the confessional transformations, and indeed, some have argued that it was during Friedrich III's reign that Heidelberg university began to flourish as a Calvinist centre of higher education in Europe.⁹

Friedrich III's reign can be divided into three periods. In the first brief period, from 1559 until 1560, moderate Lutherans, supporters of Melanchthon's theological perspectives, confronted and defeated the orthodox Lutherans. In the second period the moderate Lutherans were in turn defeated by the supporters of Reformed Protestantism, modelled on Zurich but also on Geneva.¹⁰ These changes, though supported and sustained by Friedrich III did not carry the unanimous approval of the Palatine people, nor of large sections of the university professors. Indeed, the confessional changes which the Palatinate experienced, both at this point and over the next decades, show how difficult it could be to effect such transformations. Both the university and the Elector's councillors were split between orthodox Lutherans, moderate Lutherans, and Reformed. In this mix, any decree from the Elector on the confession to be adopted by the Palatinate took time to be implemented, simply because of the need to replace with more suitable candidates those whose confessional allegiance was now frowned upon. Consequently, by the early 1560s, the Lutheran professors of theology appointed by Ottheinrich were being dismissed by his successor in favour of Reformed ones.¹¹ For example in 1561, Pierre Boquin, a Frenchman who shifted from a moderate Lutheran position to Calvinism replaced the ardent Lutheran Tileman Heshusen in the chair of New Testament.¹² Nevertheless, even after the Palatinate joined the Reformed camp in the third phase of Friedrich III's reign, all was not settled, for by the mid 1560s, conflict had erupted again, this time between moderate Reformed scholars, such as Erastus, and more radical Calvinists such as Caspar Olevian, over the establishment and purpose of church discipline. Once again, the university could not remain aloof, for Erastus was professor of medicine, while Olevian had held the chair of Dogmatics before becoming a preacher in Heidelberg and a member of the Kirchenrat, the church council of the Palatinate.¹³ Erastus opposed the ultra-Calvinists' intention to have church discipline administered independently from any lay control. In the end, the more radical Calvinists won out, because of the Elector's attention to their cause,

⁹ Gustav Adolf Benrath, 'Die Universität der Reformationszeit', ARG 57 (1966), 46.

¹⁰ Press, Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, pp. 226-230.

¹¹ Hautz, Geschichte der Universität, II, p. 77.

¹² Press, Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, p. 240; Hautz, Geschichte der Universität, II, p. 50.

¹³ Press, Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, p. 242.

though their administration of discipline still preserved a role for the civil authorities.¹⁴

These debates, theological in nature but practical in their consequences, may have helped to increase the university's status, because of the interest generated by such themes. In 1561, the Elector fostered both this interest in theology and the vital training of Calvinist ministers by transforming one of the preparatory residential colleges of philosophy into a theological seminary, the Collegium Sapientiae and placing it under the authority of the church council. Direct supervision of the students was, however, in most instances entrusted to the professors of theology.¹⁵ The establishment of a seminary functioning as part of the university is worth examining in more detail. The students who were part of the Collegium Sapientiae had their room and board paid for them and it seems that they received some of their teaching in the college itself, although they matriculated in the university proper. For instance, in 1564, 13 students matriculated in the university as 'students of the most famous prince in the Collegium Sapientiae'. In 1565, 9 students did the same, while in 1566, 11 students were recorded as belonging to that college. The matriculation list then makes no mention of those students who were a part of the theological college until 1572, when 29 names are listed in that category, and after a year's interval, 9 names are inscribed in 1574, and 28 in 1575.¹⁶ Consequently, between 10 and 25 students are known to have joined the ranks of the Collegium Sapientiae each year during Friedrich III's reign. That it was deemed necessary to create a seminary-style institution alongside the academic offerings of the faculty of theology is significant. One can suggest that as the training of future ministers called for more than academic preparation alone, this preparation was at least in part available in the Collegium Sapientiae. The existence of such an institution, funded by money from former ecclesiastical resources, shows what importance the Palatine prince and church gave to the training of a clerical elite.¹⁷ Furthermore, this elite was not made up of and destined for the Palatinate alone, since the Collegium Sapientiae students' places of origin varied from Heidelberg itself to Wesel, Antwerp, Strasbourg, Munich, Silesia, Carinthia, and Berne among other locations.

By 1569, the number of professors teaching in Heidelberg had expanded to 16, including 3 in theology: Pierre Boquin, Immanuel Tremellius, and Hieronymus Zanchius, 3 in medicine: Curio, Thomas Erastus, and Sigismund Melanchthon, 4 in law: Caspar Agricola, Berthold Redlich, Nicolaus Dobbin, Petrus Alostanus, and 6 in

¹⁴ Press, Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, pp. 249-251.

¹⁵ Hautz, Geschichte der Universität, II, pp. 63-6.

¹⁶ Toepke, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, II, pp. 33-75.

¹⁷ Hautz, Geschichte der Universität, II, p. 65 footnote.

arts: Victorinus Strigel, William Xylander, Hieronymus Niger, Hermann Witekind, Simon Grynaeus and Lambertus Pithopoeus.¹⁸ Both the number of these scholars and their calibre indicate how much Heidelberg acted as a centre of intellectual training during Friedrich's reign. Heidelberg's impact is also reflected in the growing number of those matriculating in the university, as numbers went from 143 in 1560, down to 61 in 1564, back up to 166 in 1568, 137 in 1572, and 128 in 1576, the final year of Friedrich III's reign. The dip in 1564 was due to the presence of the plague in Heidelberg between 1562 and 1564, leading to the university's temporary transfer to Oppenheim and Eppingen. The move, combined with the threat of disease explains the drop in the number of students matriculating in that period. The high point during Friedrich's reign was in 1568, when 212 students matriculated. Apart from major fluctuations, the average annual number of matriculations during Friedrich's reign was 134.¹⁹

In 1576, Friedrich was succeeded by his eldest son, Ludwig VI. While his father had moved from a Lutheran to a Calvinist perspective during his reign, and had worked at transforming the Palatinate's confessional allegiance accordingly, Ludwig VI was a Lutheran, and spent the six years of his reign reversing the trend from Calvinism back to Lutheranism. Once again, the university was one of the areas most affected by the change, since the Calvinist professors of theology were dismissed in favour of Lutherans. Temporarily, at least, while the process of replacement was taking place, the university was bereft of much of its leadership and enrolments fell accordingly. While in 1577, 128 students still matriculated in Heidelberg, that number dropped to 83 in 1578 and 98 in 1579, picking up in 1580 to 153 and 218 in 1581. 1582 saw 217 students matriculating, while only 147 did so in 1583, the year of Ludwig VI's death.²⁰ The process of finding suitably qualified Lutheran professors to replace Boquin, Tremellius, and Zanchius took two years, until 1579. At the same time, for lack of suitable regents, the Collegium Sapientiae was closed for two years until 1579, leading to a pronounced lack of theological training in Heidelberg during that period.²¹ The Calvinist professors in other subjects held on to their posts until July 1579, when they were asked to sign a Lutheran oath of obedience. Rather than sign, 6 professors left. Some, like Hugues Doneau and Nicolaus Dobbin had seen the direction matters were taking, and had

¹⁸ Urkundenbuch, I, pp. 308-10.

¹⁹ Toepke, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, II, pp. 19-75.

²⁰ Toepke, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, II, pp. 79-109.

²¹ Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, II, pp. 98-9, 101-2.

left Heidelberg before they were forced to go.²² Gradually, new Lutheran professors were brought in, and the statutes were reworked in April 1580 to provide the structural reinforcement for the confessional change. In keeping with the move to Lutheranism, the oaths in the university, for students in theology and professors in all fields, included clauses tying the oath-taker to obedience to the Augsburg Confession, the Schmalkalden Articles, the Lutheran catechism, and the Palatine church order.²³

During Ludwig's six-year reign, his brother, the Calvinist Johann Casimir, set up a miniature state in Pfalz-Lautern in the western Palatinate. There, he provided a refuge for Calvinists exiled or banished from his brother's territory, and in 1578, he transformed a Latin school in Neustadt into an academy, the Casimirianum. Several of the exiled professors, Ursinus, Zanchius, Daniel Toussain, Dobbin, Pithopoeus and Witekind, taught there until 1583, when Johann Casimir became regent for his nephew, the future Friedrich IV, at Ludwig's death. Illustrating the ephemeral nature of academies, the Casimirianum did not survive the departure of the Palatine professors, and returned to its earlier Latin school level after 1583.²⁴

Johann Casimir ruled the Palatinate as administrator for his nephew from 1583 until his own death in 1592. Given Johann Casimir's support for Calvinism, he worked to restore the Reformed faith in the Palatinate in general and in the university in particular, by removing Lutheran ministers and professors. Once again, the changeover led to problems, as the replacement of the Lutheran professors by Calvinists was not immediate. Some of those returning from Neustadt, such as Pithopoeus and Witekind, reclaimed their posts, but others had to be sought elsewhere, as in the case of J. J. Grynaus, who came from Basle.²⁵ The students at the university also attempted to play a role in Heidelberg's ongoing development by having the range of courses available extended to include history. In November and December 1588, the students of various nations, enrolled in arts, petitioned the university senate and pro-rector to allow the creation of a chair of history in Heidelberg, arguing that to do so would increase Heidelberg's reputation and would be useful to the students as well.²⁶

²² Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, II, pp. 102-5.

²³ 'Die Reformation des Kurfürsten Ludwig VI vom 11. April 1580' in Statuten und Reformationen, pp. 161, 177.

²⁴ Press, Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, pp. 320-1; Hautz, Geschichte der Universität, II, pp. 112-15.

²⁵ Hautz, Geschichte der Universität, II, pp. 120-23.

²⁶ Urkundenbuch, I, pp. 324-5.

As Calvinism was re-established, the university oaths reverted to a Calvinist tone, promising obedience to the church ordinances set out by Friedrich III, and the Lutheran phase of Ludwig VI was gradually obliterated.²⁷ Student numbers began to rise again, to 199 in 1584, 160 in 1588, and 245 in 1592, averaging 186 matriculations per year throughout Johann Casimir's administration. The high point was reached in 1586, when 300 students matriculated.²⁸ Johann Casimir also extended the number of scholarships available for Reformed students in Heidelberg by transforming the old Dionysianum college into the Casimirianum in 1591. Students who were granted a place in the Casimirianum had to be Reformed and had to attend worship regularly, although the students came from all four faculties and not from theology alone. Both the Collegium Sapientiae and the Casimirianum provided places for students to live and study while having their expenses paid. Notwithstanding these institutional innovations, some suggest that the confessional changes from Friedrich III to Johann Casimir were detrimental in that each time the confession was altered, the Palatinate lost another section of elite intellectuals who had been trained at the Palatinate's expense, but who because of confessional ties could not or would not remain under new regimes.²⁹ Happily, the accession of Friedrich IV under Johann Casimir's strong-minded regency brought this rapid sequence of confessional changes to an end. From the administration of Johann Casimir onward until 1619, the university and the Palatinate remained Reformed, and the continuity established allowed the university to flourish and brought in students in ever-increasing numbers.

In January 1592, Johann Casimir died, a few months short of his nephew's majority. Under his nephew, Friedrich IV, the Palatinate continued in its Calvinist course, though the direct influence of the new Elector on religious, political, and educational affairs was minimal at first, both because of his youth and inexperience and because of the correspondingly greater experience and activity of his councillors.³⁰ In May 1599, however, Friedrich IV himself suggested to the university's faculty of theology that its teaching of dogma, the loci communes, was not sufficiently organised nor directed against the attacks of both Anabaptists and Jesuits. Instead, Friedrich IV proposed that the course ought to be divided in two, one section teaching doctrine, and the other focusing on the major points of controversy and on the refutation of errors. In this way, he argued, the structure of

²⁷ Hautz, Geschichte der Universität, II, p. 137.

²⁸ Toepke, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, II, pp. 109-64.

²⁹ Press, Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, p. 359.

³⁰ Press, Calvinismus und Territorialstaat, pp. 373-4.

doctrinal teaching would match that of other famous universities.³¹ Indeed, a growing focus on dogma was a feature in the development of theological instruction, both in Geneva under Antoine de La Faye and Lignaridus, and in Zurich with Peter Martyr. The split of doctrinal teaching between a straight-forward study of the corpus of doctrine and an examination of the subjects of controversy was not a division which appealed to Heidelberg's faculty of theology, for they responded negatively to the Elector's plans on 8 June 1599. The professors argued that the Elector's plans would entail staff changes, that there would be too many professors of theology, and that it would cost too much in salaries. Finally, the professors noted that in any case, the opponents of Reformed doctrine already knew what the Reformed church held, given the number of excellent works written by theologians such as Zanchius, Ursinus, Calvin, Martyr, Bullinger, Simler, Beza, and Antoine Le Chevalier. Therefore, there was no need for an expansion into areas of controversy which had already been dealt with capably.³² It is important to note that apart from Ursinus and Zanchius, the leading theologians referred to were either associated with Zurich or with Geneva. Hence, it seems that in doctrinal matters at least, Heidelberg's theologians recognised their debt to both Zurich and Geneva.

In 1600, the chancellery of the Palatinate attempted to move the university further along the path of greater efficiency, by setting out plans to have the entire curriculum in arts last three years, and four in medicine, law and theology.³³ Once again, these moves were echoed in other European centres of learning, as in Geneva and Zurich, although they met with opposition from Heidelberg's professors, who insisted again that any transformation to the time-honoured structure would be both difficult and too disruptive. The professors pointed out that faster did not necessarily mean better, and that much would be lost in a cursory study of subjects.³⁴ In March 1604, Friedrich IV extended his planned changes in the faculty of law by urging the replacement of the canon law course by a course in ancient Germanic law, because of the blasphemous nature of canon law and its lack of relevance to Reformed universities.³⁵ That canon law was still being taught in Heidelberg in 1604 indicates how much the university was still tied to its past, unlike the academies which developed without having to carry the intellectual baggage of previous centuries. Once again the Heidelberg professors' response was negative, as they stated that canon law ought to remain as part of the law faculty's curriculum

³¹ *Urkundenbuch*, I, pp. 329-30.

³² *Urkundenbuch*, I, pp. 330-2.

³³ *Urkundenbuch*, I, pp. 333-4.

³⁴ *Urkundenbuch*, I, pp. 334-45.

³⁵ *Urkundenbuch*, I, pp. 369-70.

given the historic links between Heidelberg university and the papacy, and given the greater international interest in canon, rather than German laws.³⁶

Throughout Friedrich IV's reign, the university attempted to block any changes which would alter the structure or content of study in Heidelberg, although a revision of the statutes originally commissioned by Johann Casimir in 1585 but promulgated by Friedrich IV was accepted by the university in 1605.³⁷ The matriculation records throughout Friedrich IV's reign indicate that the university held a continuing appeal for students, as the average number of matriculations between 1593 and 1610 was 153, a lower average, however, than during Johann Casimir's administration. The lowest number of matriculations in the period was in 1596, when only 91 students matriculated because of the plague, while in 1607 at the high point, 209 students signed the matriculation list.³⁸

At his death in 1610, Friedrich IV was succeeded by Johann II of Zweibrücken, acting as regent in the name of Friedrich IV's son, the future Friedrich V, who was 14 at the time of his father's death.³⁹ In 1614, Friedrich V attained his majority and began to rule independently. Little information survives about the university in this period, apart from the despatch of three delegates, Heinrich Alting, Abraham Scultetus, and Paul Toussain, all professors of theology, to the Synod of Dordrecht.⁴⁰ As for the number of students, an average of 193 matriculated in Heidelberg during Friedrich V's reign, an average increase of 40 students annually as compared with the preceding period. 1611 marked the high point, as 269 students matriculated in Heidelberg that year.⁴¹ One scheme set up by the new Elector may have helped to increase Heidelberg's attractiveness to students even further, in that in 1615, Friedrich V organised the sponsorship of young noblemen's studies. Due to a lack of funds, only 4 young nobles from the upper Palatinate were offered the scholarships, which were tenable for 7 years, the three first to be spent in Heidelberg or in other 'approved Evangelical universities', followed by 4 years of academic travels. Each student was granted 150 florins a year.⁴² This sponsorship of young noblemen's studies, presumably directed towards secular rather than theological subjects marks a departure from the scholarship schemes discussed elsewhere. In Zurich as in

³⁶ *Urkundenbuch*, I, pp. 370-3.

³⁷ Hautz, *Geschichte der Universität*, II, p. 136.

³⁸ Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, II, pp. 164-251.

³⁹ Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, p. 479.

⁴⁰ Hautz, *Geschichte der Universität*, II, pp. 157-8.

⁴¹ Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, II, pp. 251-99.

⁴² Hautz, *Geschichte der Universität*, II, p. 155.

Geneva, by far the majority of scholarship students were preparing for the ministry. The sponsorship of young nobles, as well as the insistence that they study in foreign centres of learning suggests that the Palatine administration was turning its attention here to a different goal, namely the training of a civil elite, loyal to the Palatinate because of its sponsorship, yet of a sufficiently high social level to serve the Elector in top civil posts.

In 1619, Friedrich V became king of Bohemia, beginning a process which led to the occupation of Heidelberg by imperial troops in 1622 and to the removal of the university library to Rome. Thus, 1619 represents the final year of stability in the Palatinate and for the university in the period.

Overall, during the successive reigns of the Electors between 1556 and 1619, the university of Heidelberg managed to preserve its reputation as an ancient and major centre of learning, and to move gradually towards Calvinism. Nonetheless, the status of Heidelberg as a Calvinist centre of education in Europe at the time depends as much on Heidelberg's links with other educational centres as it does on internal developments. A more detailed examination of the connections established between Heidelberg and Geneva in these years brings home the extent to which both institutions, the ancient and the new, were increasingly a part of a mutually sustaining international network.

Between 1559 and 1620, 71 Genevans matriculated in Heidelberg, whereas only 55 students from the Palatinate matriculated in the Genevan schola publica in the same period. In each case, the proportion of these students as compared with the total number of matriculations, 2741 in Geneva and 8754 in Heidelberg, is minimal. Yet among the Genevans going to Heidelberg, one finds prominent figures in the Genevan world, such as Pierre Chevalier in 1569, later a member of the Small Council of Geneva and professor of law, together with his brother Paul Chevalier in 1570. The latter had requested permission from the Small Council of Geneva on 9 February 1570 'to be allowed to continue his study of law in Heidelberg', a permission which was granted, and which reflects the inability of Geneva's schola publica to provide an equivalent level of training.⁴³ The list of Genevans in Heidelberg also includes David de Normandie, the son of the printer Laurent de Normandie in 1575, as well as Matthieu Scarron and Samuel le Chevalier in 1586. Scarron and Le Chevalier had been sponsored by the French church in London during their studies in the schola publica in 1583-84, and this sponsorship was in all likelihood continued in Heidelberg, since Le Chevalier was described in the

⁴³ RC 63, fol. 22, 9 February 1570.

matriculation records as 'ecclesiae Gallicanae Londinensis alumnus'.⁴⁴ It seems that a group of students from Geneva arrived in Heidelberg at that time, having travelled there together, for on the same date, 16 September 1586, Aaron Cappel, from London, also sponsored by the French church of London while in Geneva, and Mathieu Robert, sponsored by the church of Ste. Marie in northern France while in Geneva, also matriculated in Heidelberg.⁴⁵ Future Genevan ministers also spent some years in Heidelberg, as did Enoch Mollet, matriculating in 1596, followed by his colleague David Piaget in 1599.

Among those coming from the Palatinate to study in Geneva, the majority of those whose later careers were known, namely 26 students, went on to civil careers, mainly serving the Palatinate, whereas only 10 became ministers, one became a professor, and one became a medical doctor. The preponderance of those taking up civil careers among students from the Palatinate would seem to suggest that Geneva's schola publica was not chosen for its role in training for the ministry, but rather as a stop among several in a tour of European centres of learning. Among the 55 Palatine students, 25, slightly less than half the total, attended one or more other centres of learning apart from Heidelberg and Geneva, indicating again that Geneva played a significant role as a study location, but was not the sole destination Palatine students had in mind. Another 9 had matriculated in Geneva, but not in Heidelberg, and had combined their voyage to Geneva with other stops in centres of learning along their chosen route. In contrast, only 20 Genevan students who matriculated both in Geneva and in Heidelberg also included other stops along their route, representing less than a third of the total number of Genevans studying in Heidelberg in the period. One could provide a negative explanation for these figures by suggesting that the Genevans lacked the funds, time or interest to pursue their studies in any other centre of learning apart from Heidelberg once they matriculated there. On the other hand, the positive explanation would be that the Genevan students who did matriculate in Heidelberg found sufficient training and scholarship available there to be able to forego any other stops. One way or the other, considering the Genevan authorities' reluctance to provide funding for their own students and given the expense of study in foreign locations, the conditions were simply unpropitious for many Genevans who had been to Heidelberg to pursue their studies elsewhere.

One particular link showing the importance of Geneva's schola publica in the eyes of the Germans was created when Christopher, Count Palatine, Friedrich III's youngest son, came to study in Geneva between 1566 and 1568. His name is not

⁴⁴ Toepke, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, II, p. 128.

⁴⁵ Toepke, Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg, II, p. 128.

recorded on the Genevan matriculation list, but his presence there is confirmed by a letter from his father, dated 30 June 1567, recalling his son to Heidelberg because of the risk of war in Geneva. Not surprisingly, the magistrates of Geneva were keen to retain their noble student, and tried to persuade him to stay, even in the spring of 1568, a year after his father's first call for him to leave the city. But in 1568, Geneva was also threatened by the plague, and this combination of unfortunate circumstances led to Christopher's departure in June of that year. On 11 July 1568, Christopher wrote from Rolle, on the lake of Geneva, to the Genevan magistrates, to explain that at his father's request, he was leaving for Basle, but that he would do all in his power, 'whenever I will have the opportunity, to make you happy or to help you and your state'.⁴⁶

Among other students coming to Geneva from Heidelberg were those who, though they did not come from the Palatinate, were sponsored by the Elector Palatine or by Palatine princes or churches to study in the schola publica. Some, such as Enoch Himmel, from Pomerania, were described as 'alumnus' of the Palatine princes. Himmel spent only a year in Geneva's schola publica from 1589-1590, between two periods in Heidelberg, from 1587 to 1589 and from 1590 to 1591. Himmel too was studying theology, both in Geneva and during his second stay in Heidelberg.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, there are no further sponsorship details, nor is there any information on his later career.

Finally, two young students, Johannes Schwartz from Umstadt and Jeremias Wild from Augsburg, both arrived in Geneva in 1604, recommended by Amandus Polanus, the professor of Old Testament in the university of Basle, and sponsored by the Elector Palatine, Friedrich IV. Schwartz had already been provided with funding during his years of study in Heidelberg, since he was an 'alumnus Collegium Sapientiae' from 1600 to 1604.⁴⁸ Though Schwartz studied theology in Geneva, nothing is known of his later career. In contrast, Wild attended a wider range of educational establishments, from Heidelberg in 1598 to Basle in 1602-03, to Geneva in 1604, and finally to Siena in 1615-16. The letter of recommendation from Polanus in Basle added to Wild's credentials by stating that he had performed well during a disputation on John 17, and that his morals were good.⁴⁹ Wild went on to become a

⁴⁶ AEG, Pièces Historiques, Mi A 27 p. 1821. Christopher, Count Palatine, from Rolle, to the Small Council of Geneva, 11 July 1568.

⁴⁷ Stelling-Michaud, Le Livre du Recteur, IV, p. 62.

⁴⁸ Stelling-Michaud, Le Livre du Recteur, V, p. 535.

⁴⁹ RCP IX, pp. 254-5. Amandus Polanus (Basle) to the Company of Pastors (Geneva), 26 July 1604.

councillor to the Elector Palatine, and later a professor of eloquence and history in the Academy of Lausanne between 1629 and 1636.

Though only a small number of students from the Palatinate matriculated in Geneva, and vice-versa, those who did travel between the two centres of learning often were individuals of a very significant academic or intellectual status. Often these were persons marked out for a prominent career of service, either of church or state, in the sponsoring community. That Genevans thought of Heidelberg as a suitable place to acquire intellectual skills not available to the same academic level in the schola publica is significant, as is the fact that Geneva became a stopping-place on the academic grand tour for young Palatines destined for a career in the administration of the Electorate. The confessional links between the Palatinate and Geneva can only have helped to make such exchanges easier.

Assessing how far it is true to say that Heidelberg was a Calvinist university for much of the period under discussion is a difficult task. At various points during the reigns of Friedrich III, Johann Casimir, and Friedrich IV and V, the university's confessional allegiance was tied to Calvinism, in that some of its professors, particularly in theology, had to swear oaths promising to uphold the Calvinist church order of the Palatinate. Those who studied theology in Heidelberg, and more particularly those whose studies were sponsored by the Electors in the Collegium Sapientiae and the Casimirianum also had to adhere to Reformed oaths and be members of the Reformed church. In the periods following confessional changes carried out by incoming Electors, the Heidelberg professors in all fields, not only in theology, had the choice between remaining if they adhered to Reformed doctrine, or leaving and being replaced by more orthodox professors. It is fair to say that in terms of its official oaths at least, the university was steered towards Calvinism during the reign of Calvinist Electors.

The content of the theology courses, however, did not reflect Calvinist teaching alone. While two chairs were reserved for the study of the Old and New Testaments, as was common in both Lutheran and Reformed centres of learning, the third chair in Heidelberg, that of the loci communes focused on the corpus of doctrine established by Melanchthon. Even in 1600, for instance, the theology professors refused to abandon Melanchthon's work for Calvin's Institutes.⁵⁰ Melanchthon's work was highly regarded both in Lutheran and in Reformed circles,

⁵⁰ Bernard Vogler, Le Clergé Protestant, p. 54. Vogler notes that the Heidelberg professors considered Calvin's Institutes to be more suited to French rather than German minds.

but it is unusual to find the Calvinist professors of Heidelberg expressing such a strong preference for a Lutheran work.

Heidelberg's Calvinist character also came through in the number of young men who came there to study for the ministry, both those from the Palatinate, and those from elsewhere. Bernard Vogler's work on clergy in the Rhineland between 1555 and 1619 indicates that 83% of the Palatine ministers whose university is known attended Heidelberg during their course of study.⁵¹ But the crucial point is not so much where these future ministers studied but rather whether the academic training which they did receive was in any sense Calvinist. One needs to know whether candidates for the ministry received the theological and practical training required for the pastorate in Heidelberg, or whether the university fulfilled academic requirements alone. Again according to Vogler, it seems that it was uncommon for students to take on a pastorate immediately following the end of their university studies. Instead, they took on vicars' posts, as assistants to older ministers, so as to learn the practical aspects of ministry.⁵² This may indicate that these practical aspects of the ministry were not tackled during their time at the university, and that Heidelberg provided solely academic, rather than practical training. In this respect, Heidelberg can be considered more as a centre for academic study in a Calvinist frame-work, rather than a centre of Calvinist higher education in the fullest sense. In other words, education at Heidelberg university may have been prized for its academic excellence in a Calvinist context, rather than for its Calvinist-oriented teaching.

Throughout this work, it has been stressed that Geneva's particular strength as a centre of higher education was its sensitivity to the double imperatives of the Reformed ministry, balancing academic learning with practical training. But Geneva was a new institution, established in the particular context of the new Reformed ministry. A long-established institution such as Heidelberg, alive to its heritage as a distinguished mediaeval university, was perhaps structurally much less able to adapt to the new demands of the emerging Calvinist congregations in this particular respect. The Palatine church recognised this fact in its insistence that candidates for the ministry continue their training *in situ* even after graduating from the university.

Insofar as Heidelberg and Geneva were distinct models of educational institutions, namely a university and an academy, and that they operated in different linguistic settings, namely German and French, their mutual competition for students was minimal. Nobles on study tours stopped in assorted educational

⁵¹ Vogler, *Le Clergé Protestant*, p. 60.

⁵² Vogler, *Le Clergé Protestant*, p. 96.

centres, mainly on the basis of their reputation and geographic location, rather than on confessional grounds. Consequently, any competition between Geneva and Heidelberg for noble students would depend more on the fame of the professors teaching in each location and on the noble students' preferred routes of travel.

As shown above, in the case of students training for the ministry, Geneva and Heidelberg each attracted students from their own area. By and large Genevans trained in Geneva, and future ministers of the Palatinate in Heidelberg. The attraction of Geneva for French-language students has already been noted. For its part, Heidelberg drew in German-language students for the ministry, particularly from southern Germany, Hesse, the Reformed counties of the Wetterau, and the Rhineland.⁵³ Because of its geographical location, Heidelberg also attracted theological students from the northern Netherlands, at least until Leiden university and the later Dutch institutions provided a similar calibre of training closer to home.⁵⁴

Though the university of Heidelberg adopted the confession of each ruling Elector in turn during the years 1559 to 1620, it was only in Friedrich III's reign, and then from Johann Casimir's administration onwards that Heidelberg played a role as a Calvinist centre of higher education. Through its professors of theology and its international reputation as a learned university in all fields, Heidelberg attracted many more students than Geneva's schola publica ever did. The main difference between the two, and the feature which keeps Heidelberg from being defined entirely as a Calvinist centre of training is the non-existent role of the church in the functioning and structure of Heidelberg university. While in Geneva and in Zurich, the ministers had a voice in the selection of new professors, in Heidelberg, the matter was dealt with by the university senate and the Elector. Whereas in Geneva students, particularly for the ministry, were supervised by and answerable to the Company of Pastors, the university of Heidelberg had its own code of discipline and the church authorities played no part in it. In Heidelberg, the university senate and the church council were two distinct bodies, with little involvement of the one in the affairs of the other. The essential directing force of the church in higher education was absent in Heidelberg, and it is this lack of a role given to the church which, in the final analysis, places Heidelberg and Geneva in separate categories. In spite of additions such as the Collegium Sapientiae, Heidelberg remained first and foremost a university, providing academic instruction in all domains, whereas the Genevan schola publica could only hesitatingly distance itself from its beginnings as a

⁵³ Vogler, Le Clergé Protestant, pp. 64-5.

⁵⁴ Vogler, Le Clergé Protestant, p. 65.

seminary towards a broader curriculum and purpose. Heidelberg university predated Calvinism, and was used in Calvinist periods to achieve certain aims. Unlike the schola publica, which was created in response to the educational and training needs of Calvinism, Heidelberg's university was adapted, but never permanently transformed, into a Calvinist centre of higher education in the later Reformation period.

Chapter IX: Leiden and the Genevan Academy

Founded in 1575 after the city's stubborn resistance to the Spanish siege, Leiden university became the first university in the United Provinces. After a slow start, it became one of the largest universities in Europe, particularly as the enrolments in the previously powerful German universities were gradually affected by the Thirty Years' War. Leiden became a recognised centre of studies in linguistics, medicine and natural sciences. The early years of its creation, from 1575 to 1620 are particularly interesting to us, for here, perhaps more so than elsewhere, debate arose as to the proper avenue for the university to follow. Was it to be a Calvinist university, thus bringing the church's influence to bear on educational matters, or was it to remain strictly under lay direction, and open to all comers? The clash between the partisans of a university operating within the structure of Calvinist discipline, and those who fought for the university to remain outside such control, shaped the university of Leiden's early years. The conflict also affected those receiving training there, particularly in the case of future ministers, in that if the university remained outside the authority of the Calvinist church, doubts could be cast on the efficacy of the theological training which it provided.

The foundation of the university of Leiden in 1575 stemmed from a letter written by William of Orange on 28 December 1574, arguing that a university needed to be created in the Northern Netherlands, both because of the lack of a training centre close at hand for ministers, and because of the importance of turning out university-educated men, who would provide vital leadership in the soon-to-be independent provinces. Interestingly, William of Orange also indicated the advantages in having a local centre of higher learning in that the expense of sending students elsewhere would be saved, and incoming students from other areas would bring in funds.¹ William of Orange's project of a university united both the fundamental aims of the academies of Zurich and of Geneva, as Zurich's academy chiefly served to train the city's own young men, and Geneva's *schola publica* maintained an interest in attracting non-Genevan students to its courses. Yet the Prince suggested a university, rather than an academy. Though there is no information on the reasons for his preference, it is clear that a university carried a higher status than did an academy. Leiden university was thus to be both a centre of higher education and a symbol of the Dutch provinces' capacities and ambitions.

¹ Olivier Fatio, *Nihil Pulchrius Ordine: Contribution à l'étude de l'établissement de la discipline ecclésiastique aux Pays-Bas, ou Lambert Daneau aux Pays-Bas (1581-1583)* (Leiden, 1971), p. 11.

The Prince's project, sealed by a charter ostensibly from Philip II of Spain,² was approved both by the States of Holland and Zeeland, and by the magistrates of Leiden, leading to the foundation of the university of Leiden on 8 February 1575.³

In its first years of existence, Leiden university was a university in name alone. As in the case of the Genevan *schola publica*, some of the professors approached at first and tentatively allocated to posts in the new university were unable to take up the posts offered to them. Out of the ten original professors listed by Jurriaanse, one in theology, three in law, two in medicine, one in Greek, one in Hebrew, and two in arts, only four actually lectured in Leiden for any length of time. Even then, they did not necessarily lecture in the subject area initially assigned to them. For instance, Cornelis Grotius, originally meant to lecture in arts, transferred to the teaching of Roman law in the first year of Leiden's existence, and remained professor of law from 1575 to 1583, and from 1587 to 1610. The other 6 professors were appointed in name only and never lectured. Certain of the professors selected in that first attempt to recruit staff show the intended orientation of the university. They included Caspar Coolhaes, a minister of Leiden, as professor of theology. Though the appointment of Coolhaes as professor of theology for the new university could be seen as a merely practical measure, given that Coolhaes was in the city already, he also supported magisterial control over church affairs, and thus he would have been an ideal incumbent of the theology chair in the eyes of the Leiden magistrates.⁴ All of the prospective professors were Dutch, not surprisingly since the relative speed of the university's establishment made it more difficult to attract foreign professors in the time available. The professors were appointed after recommendations by the Curators of Leiden university and the burgomasters of the city of Leiden to the States of Holland, which then granted final approval.⁵ Hence, church authorities had no influence in the appointment of Leiden's professors.

The posts which remained vacant at the time of the university's inauguration were gradually filled, so that the university had two professors each in theology and law, and one each in medicine, Latin, Hebrew, Greek and Arts. Out of these, four were not Dutch, namely Louis Cappel and Guillaume Feugueray, French-born professors of theology, and Basilius Pithopoeus and Herman Reneker, German-born professors in Hebrew and arts respectively. In spite of the possible attractions of foreign professors, the Leiden curators and burgomasters' choices were not happy, as

² M. W. Jurriaanse, *The Foundation of Leiden University* (Leiden, 1965), p. 8.

³ Jurriaanse, *The Foundation of Leiden University*, pp. 5-10.

⁴ Fatio, *Nihil Pulchrius Ordine*, p. 7.

⁵ *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1940* C. A. Siegenbeek van Heukelom-Lamme (Leiden, 1941), p. x.

Cappel left later in the year of his appointment, Pithopoeus died in 1576, Herman Reneker was dismissed in 1578 after assorted scandals⁶, and Guillaume Feugueray returned to Rouen in 1579. Feugueray's own stay in Leiden as professor of theology had been somewhat controversial, as in May 1575, he and his other foreign colleagues submitted a draft of statutes for Leiden university, giving the church greater control over university affairs through the establishment of a confession of faith to be signed by all professors and through a clause requiring the Consistory of Leiden's approval in the choice of a rector for the university.⁷ This proposal had no support among the magistrates, who submitted a counter-proposal which kept the church out of university affairs altogether, leaving the appointment of professors and administrators in the hands of the civilian authorities. The magistrates' perspective was favoured by the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland, so that on 2 June 1575, the official statutes of Leiden university were promulgated along the lines of the Leiden magistrates' proposals. Though there was a Calvinist student oath, it was as broadly-based as possible, so as to encourage all students to matriculate, whatever their place of origin.⁸ By 1578, however, the confession of faith was removed by the States of Holland, because they felt that it acted as a potential barrier to those of other confessions. Although enrolments were low to start with, they rose sharply, from 2 matriculations in 1575, to 14 in 1576, 26 in 1577, and 84 in 1578.⁹ In spite of such signs of healthy progress, the civil authorities were anxious to take any measure which could increase even further the number of those coming to the city.¹⁰

One particular problem was the low number of students matriculating in theology. In fact, the proportion of students in theology as compared with the total number of students fell during the first four years, as no students matriculated in theology in 1575, 4 out of 14 did so in 1576, 11 out of 26 in 1577, but only 19 out of 84 in 1578.¹¹ Part of the reason for the lack of interest in theology was the lack of professors staying for any length of time. For instance, after Cappel's departure,

⁶ P. A. M. Geurts, 'Herman Reneker: Moeilijkheden rond een van de eerste Leidse hoogleraren' *Lias* 2 (1975), 55-70. The document indicting Reneker lists 14 points against him, including his earlier banishment from Heidelberg, his slander of prominent people in Leiden, including Caspar Coolhaes, his colleague Pithopoeus, and the rector of the Latin school in Leiden, and Reneker's excessive drinking.

⁷ Fatio, *Nihil Pulchrius Ordine*, p. 12. Fatio makes no mention of Feugueray's participation in the draft statutes, but the article on Feugueray in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* III, p. 399 does indicate that he participated in the project.

⁸ Fatio, *Nihil Pulchrius Ordine*, p. 12.

⁹ *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae 1575-1875* ed. Guillaume du Rieu (The Hague, 1875), pp. 1-4.

¹⁰ Jurriaanse, *The Founding of Leiden University*, p. 15.

¹¹ *Album Scholasticum*, pp. 1-4.

Feugueray was sole professor of theology. When he left in 1579, Hubertus Sturmius was brought in, first as a lower-level lector, or reader, and then as professor from 1580 onwards.¹² The full complement of two professors was only restored in 1581, when Lambert Daneau arrived from Geneva to take on a chair of theology. In between whiles, the States of Holland had not stood idle, as a post as professor of theology had been offered in turn to Zanchius, Franciscus Junius, and Daniel Toussain, all of whom turned down the invitation.¹³ One reason suggested for the lack of enthusiasm for Leiden on the part of these distinguished scholars lay in the relatively low salaries provided by Leiden university as well in the lack of adequate housing for incoming professors.¹⁴ Given that the most sought-after professors were already employed in German universities and academies, it could prove difficult to attract them to a new institution which was bringing in few students and which could not offer them better financial rewards than they were already receiving. But there was also another pertinent factor deterring potential recruits, namely uncertainty over the future of the institution at a time when the military struggle with Spain was continuing. At several points during the first twenty years of Leiden's existence, the Dutch military effort faltered. It was by no means certain that the independent state would survive.¹⁵ The ebb and flow of the military conflict would have been an understandable disincentive to scholars well-established elsewhere to transfer to the Dutch university.

Even Lambert Daneau, who had built up an international reputation as a scholar and writer during his years in Geneva remained at the university of Leiden only for a year. In his case, the difficulties lay not so much in the material conditions offered to him, but in a radical misunderstanding between Daneau and the Leiden civic authorities regarding the respective roles of church and magistrates in the university and in the Leiden church itself. Before his arrival, Daneau had believed that the university of Leiden was similar to the Genevan schola publica in terms of the local church's control over educational affairs. In his 1579 dedication to the Leiden magistrates, prefacing his commentary of Peter Lombard's Sentences, Daneau saw the creation of Leiden university arising from the need for pure doctrine and for its propagation, and believed that the establishment of the university was due to the city's evangelical zeal.¹⁶ Given that in reality the church had little if any role to play in the running of the university, Daneau rapidly discovered that the situation in Leiden was somewhat different to that which he had supposed. His stay in Leiden

¹² Album Scholasticum, pp. 149, 190.

¹³ Fatio, Nihil Pulchrius Ordine, p. 15.

¹⁴ Geurts, 'Herman Reneker', 55.

¹⁵ Geoffrey Parker, The Dutch Revolt (London, 1977), pp. 199-207.

¹⁶ Fatio, Nihil Pulchrius Ordine, pp. 18-19

was further embittered by his involvement in disputes between various factions among the Dutch clergy, and in disputes between the Leiden ministers and magistrates. Indeed, the strongest proof available that, at least in the first years of its existence, Leiden university was far from a Calvinist centre of learning was the Genevan-trained Daneau's difficulties in the city, and his subsequent departure in 1582 for Ghent, where the strongly Calvinist atmosphere was more to his liking.¹⁷

Daneau's replacement was Johannes Holmannus Secundus, who taught until his death in 1586. He was joined in 1584 by Adrian Saravia, whose support for the Duke of Leicester led to his departure from Leiden in 1587, returning to England with the unpopular Duke.¹⁸ Therefore, by 1587, 12 years after its foundation, the university of Leiden had already had 9 professors of theology, auguring little for the stability of future theological teaching there.

In spite of the continuing problems in theology overall student numbers continued to increase, going from 104 matriculations in 1579 to 150 in 1581. The number of students then remained around 100 until 1589, rising to 125 in 1583 and dropping to only 76 in 1588. The average number of yearly matriculations between 1579 and 1589 was 101 students.¹⁹ The number of theology students continued to stagnate, however, as 19 students chose theology in 1579, 17 in 1581, 15 in 1583, 6 in 1585, 10 in 1587, and 11 in 1589.²⁰ Clearly, the appeal of Leiden university did not extend to its faculty of theology. At the same time, the rest of the university continued to develop, as more renowned professors took up posts in Leiden. In law, Justus Lipsius and Hugues Doneau, the latter coming directly from Heidelberg, took up chairs in 1578 and 1579. Lipsius taught both history and law, and he illustrated the confessional openness of Leiden, since he originated from Catholic Louvain, and returned there in 1591, to re-enter the Catholic fold.²¹ Clearly, he was not chosen by the Leiden magistrates because of his confessional allegiance, but rather because of his intellectual stature. In the faculty of arts, Bonaventura Vulcanius came to Leiden in 1581, to lecture in Greek and Latin. Apart from his scholarly work, Vulcanius's greatest gift to Leiden was his longevity, since he taught in the university until his death in 1614.²² Meanwhile, the study of medicine and natural sciences continued

¹⁷ Fatio, *Nihil Pulchrius Ordine*, pp. 35-102.

¹⁸ J. J. Woltjer, 'Introduction', in *Leiden University in the seventeenth century: An exchange of learning* ed. T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Leiden, 1975), p. 4.

¹⁹ *Album Studiosorum*, pp. 4-27.

²⁰ *Album Studiosorum*, pp. 4-27.

²¹ Woltjer, 'Introduction', pp. 2-4.

²² *Album Scholasticum*, p. 170.

to prosper under professors such as Johannes Heurnius and Rembertus Dodonaeus.²³

In the 1590s, the university as a whole continued to attract increasing numbers of students and well-known professors, such as Franciscus Raphelingius in 1586-87 in Hebrew, Pieter Paeuw in medicine between 1589 and 1617, Paul Merula in 1592-1607 in history, who was also the university librarian between 1597 and 1607, Charles de l'Ecluse in botany between 1593 and 1609, Pierre Dumoulin in arts in 1593 to 1598, and Joseph-Juste Scaliger in Latin, oriental studies and history between 1593 and 1609. Even so, the faculty of theology's progress remained more uncertain. Overall, in 1590, 17 professors were lecturing in Leiden, 6 in law, 6 in arts, 3 in medicine, and 2 in theology.²⁴ Theology remained the smallest faculty. Not surprisingly, therefore, many of the students wanting to pursue theology did so elsewhere, in Heidelberg or Geneva for instance.²⁵ In the 1590s, however, the growing number of Calvinists fleeing the southern Netherlands provided Leiden's faculty of theology with more students and new professors. The Calvinist exiles were less moderate than their northern neighbours, perhaps because of their experience as a threatened minority. Their arrival in Leiden did impart a different atmosphere to theological teaching, leading to certain changes. In 1587, Luc Trelcat, from near Arras, was appointed professor of theology. In 1592, he was joined by Franciscus Junius, who has previously turned down Leiden's offer in 1580. Both men provided the Leiden faculty of theology with some stability, for they both lectured until their deaths from the plague in 1602.

The other chief innovation affecting the teaching of theology at Leiden in the 1590s was the foundation of the Staten Collegie in 1592. Because of the uncertain first years of theology in the university, few future ministers had come to Leiden to be trained. In order to remedy the situation and to increase the number of locally-trained pastors, the States College was created, to provide an environment where future ministers of the Dutch church could receive the necessary academic training while under the supervision of regents appointed specifically for the task.²⁶ One reason suggested behind the move to organise such a college was the increasing competition from Franeker's new university, founded in 1585, which the Leiden

²³ T. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Un amphithéâtre d'anatomie moralisée' in Leiden University, p. 217.

²⁴ Album Scholasticum, pp. 190-3.

²⁵ H. Wansink, Polietieke Wetenschappen aan de Leidse Universiteit 1575-1650 (Utrecht, 1981), p. 32.

²⁶ G. Kuiper and C. S. M. Rademaker, 'The Collegium Theologicum at Leiden in 1615: Correspondence between P. Bertius and G. J. Vossius, the resigning regent and his successor' Lias 2 (1975), 175.

authorities felt was attracting theology students away from Leiden.²⁷ When the minister Johannes Wtenbogaert was consulted in November 1590 by Rombout Hoogerbeets, the Pensioner of Leiden, about possible models for the States College, Franeker was one of the models which Wtenbogaert noted. However, he described in fuller detail the purpose and workings of the Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg, listing the role of the regents, the number of scholarship students and their courses, and the practical arrangements of the Heidelberg college.²⁸ The fact that Heidelberg's Collegium Sapientiae was proposed as a possible model for the States College in Leiden indicates something of Heidelberg's international reputation, since Wtenbogaert, who had never studied in Heidelberg, clearly knew of the role and structure of the Collegium Sapientiae, and based his report almost entirely on it. Wtenbogaert had attended Geneva's schola publica between 1582 and 1584. Interestingly, he provided no information on the Genevan model of ministerial training, probably because Geneva's system was non-collegiate in its approach.

As in Heidelberg and Zurich, the Leiden authorities had realised that part of the reason for the modest number of students pursuing theology and the ministry was the low regard in which the profession was held, both by students and by their parents, coupled with the costs of theological studies. Even when students did become ministers, their salaries were poor, making a career in the ministry even less appealing.²⁹ In order to remedy the situation, the States of Holland went back to their earlier resolution, never implemented, that certain cities and towns in Holland should sponsor one or two students for the ministry each year, sending them to the new States College in Leiden. The States of Holland also agreed to provide 8000 guilders a year towards the costs of running the college.³⁰ The organisational initiatives by the States of Holland were supported by the various synods of the Calvinist church in Holland. Throughout the 1580s, the meetings of the national synods had heard and registered complaints about the high costs of theological studies in Leiden and about the problems which this caused by impeding the studies of ministers' sons, whose fathers could not afford the expense of their sons' stay in Leiden.³¹

²⁷ P. A. M. Geurts, 'Voorgeschiedenis van het Staten College te Leiden 1575-1593' *Lias* 10 (1983), 26.

²⁸ Geurts, 'Voorgeschiedenis', 42.

²⁹ Geurts, 'Voorgeschiedenis', 14-15.

³⁰ Geurts, 'Voorgeschiedenis', 31-2. The cities were Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam, Gouda and Rotterdam, which were to sponsor two students each. Gorcum, Scheedam, Schoonhoven, Alkmaar, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Edam, Monnikendam, Medemblik and Purmerend were to sponsor one student each, for a total of 24 students.

³¹ Geurts, 'Voorgeschiedenis', 27-8.

And yet, in spite of the cost, Leiden's proximity at least gave it some advantages for fathers reluctant to send their sons to foreign centres of learning. On 17 March 1581, Petrus de Bert, a minister in Dunkirk, wrote to his fellow-minister, Arnold Cornelisz in Delft. Cornelisz had contacts with Leiden and with its university, particularly during Daneau's year in the university, since Cornelisz and Daneau were allies both in their attempt to give the church a greater say in its own affairs and against Caspar Coolhaes. De Bert wrote to Cornelisz for advice about the future studies of his son Pieter. He stated,

'My eldest son Pieter has now studied at Leiden for 3 years with Nicolas Stochius [the master of Leiden's Latin school], and 6 years more before that with other masters, so that I now anticipate having him away from home to study only for another 3 or 4 years at the longest. I want your advice as to whether the Academy of Leiden is now in such a condition that I could let him spend these 3 or 4 years there with profit. For many reasons, I would prefer not to send him abroad, either to Neustadt in Germany or Geneva in France (sic). He now has his Greek tolerably (in my opinion) and I would like him also to learn Hebrew: if I allow him to give these 3 or 4 years over to that, then he will be 20 (if God spares him that long). Then I intend to bring him back to me to perfect his Flemish and begin exercising himself in preaching. I await your reply, for if the Leiden school is not appropriate, I will send him to Ghent to a good, pious man, where he may frequent the public lectures and learn Hebrew'.³²

De Bert's letter raises several important issues concerning Leiden university and the training of future ministers. Firstly, it is clear that much of the training de Bert intended his son to have was informal, and did not have to take place necessarily within a university setting. Ghent was an equally valid alternative for de Bert, in spite of the fact that Ghent only offered a series of theological lectures in Scriptural exegesis and in doctrine, rather than being a university. De Bert seemed unconcerned at the prospect of his son attending a series of lectures in Ghent rather than a course culminating in a potential degree in Leiden. One can suggest that for de Bert at least, academic training in a university context was not a vital requirement in his son's overall preparation for ministry. The second point of note is, once again, the importance of practical training in de Bert's eyes. As was the case for the churches writing to Geneva about their students, de Bert intended his son to gain practical experience in preaching and in Flemish, his future language of work as a minister. Otherwise, de Bert's only concern was for his son to learn Hebrew, necessary for the Scriptural exegesis of the Old Testament. As a whole, therefore, de

³² Petrus de Bert (Dunkirk) to Arnold Cornelisz (Delft) 17 March 1581. L. Knappert, 'Stukken uit den stichtingstijd der Nederlandsche hervormde kerk, III', *Nederlandsch archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 8 (1911), 378-9. With thanks to Dr Andrew Pettegree for the reference and translation.

Bert's letter exemplifies the continuing uneasy combination of academic and practical aspects of training for the ministry, and the on-going interest in training taking place outside an institutional context, be it an academy or university.

The creation of the States College was designed to provide some of the training which fathers like Pieter de Bert expected their sons to receive. The States College was tied to the university, and was in no way independent from it, since students attended lectures in arts and theology in the university alongside other students, and the principal task of the regents was not to teach independently but to review each day the content of the day's lectures with the college students. The links between the university and the States College were strengthened further by the theology and arts professors' obligation to come to the college to inspect students' progress on a regular basis. The burgomasters of Leiden also had a role to play in the running of the college, since together with the university curators, they had established the statutes for the States College.³³ Yearly bursaries of 120 guilders each could be held by candidates for up to 6 years, a measure which encouraged a more thorough and long-term period of training than the more rapid and more limited scholarships offered by churches to students coming to Geneva.

Although the founding of the States College, coupled with the increasing stability provided by Trelcat and Junius' longer tenure as professors of theology was intended to contribute to the increase in the number of students matriculating in theology, there is little evidence that such attempts were successful. In 1592, 166 students matriculated in Leiden, out of which 20 declared their intention to study theology. In 1594, in a slight improvement, out of 146 students matriculating, 30 indicated that they would study theology. Yet the number of students pursuing theological studies still remained low, since only 21 out of 146 students matriculated in theology in 1596, and 30 out of 190 did so in 1598. The overall average number of matriculations per year between 1592 and 1599 was 166 students, whereas the annual average of those matriculating in theology was only 25 students.³⁴

In 1606, the States College was joined by the Walloon College, directed primarily at students who went on to serve the French-language Walloon churches. Interestingly, the Walloon College was both more dependent on the church and less dependent on the university and on civil authorities than its Dutch counterpart. While the States College received 8000 guilders a year, the Walloon College only received 1000. Part of the discrepancy was due to a difference in size, since the Walloon College intended to admit 8 bursary students, while the States College intended to admit 30. As well, sponsorship was organised differently, since in the case of the States College, the cities were to provide the students with scholarships,

³³ Geurts, 'Voorgeschiedenis', 37-42.

³⁴ *Album Studiosorum*, pp. 31-57.

whereas students entering the Walloon College received their bursaries from the Walloon synod. In a sense, the funding for those attending the Walloon College was similar in its origins to the scholarships paid by French churches to their students heading for Geneva. In both cases, funding for scholarships was dependent on the generosity of individuals in the congregations.³⁵ Together, the States College and the Walloon College provided ministerial training for Dutch and French speakers, combining both the academic training offered by the university of Leiden with appropriate funding, supervision, and a certain amount of practical training in preaching for scholarship students. The creation of the colleges was an attempt on the part of both civil and ecclesiastical authorities to bring together academic and practical training under one roof. Though funding constraints meant that only a small proportion of all theology students of Leiden were alumni of the colleges, the colleges still provided a supervised setting for the training of the future ministers of the Dutch and Walloon Calvinist churches.

As the number of students matriculating in Leiden continued to rise after the turn of the century, the number and calibre of professors continued to improve as well. In 1600, 163 students matriculated in Leiden. In 1602, that number had risen to 224, while in 1604, 236 students did the same. In 1606, 188 students matriculated, while 219 did so in 1608. Finally, in 1610, 154 students matriculated in Leiden. The average annual number of students between 1600 and 1610 was 200 students.³⁶ In 1600 there were 20 professors: 3 in theology, 5 in law, 5 in medicine, and 7 in arts. Added to these were a certain number of Lectores, chiefly in arts. These men were ranked lower than the professors, and often only taught as Lectores for a short period, before going elsewhere or becoming a full professor. In 1610, the number of professors had dropped to 19, chiefly because of the gap in theology, caused by the deaths of the professors Luc Trelcat the younger in 1607 and Arminius in 1609, and not helped by the growing controversy caused by Arminius's doctrines after his death. In 1610, there was only 1 professor of theology, 3 in medicine, 7 in law, and 8 in arts. Apart from theology, the number of professors employed by the university of Leiden goes a long way towards explaining its success. It is not surprising that the schola publica in Geneva could not compete in terms of its academic prospectus after the turn of the century, since universities such as Leiden could draw in more professors, and thus more students, than Geneva could ever hope for. The theological storm caused by Arminius' views did no harm to the university of Leiden's overall enrolment, although it did render the search for theology professors a more delicate matter, given that the Leiden magistrates wanted above all a tranquil

³⁵ G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, 'Le Collège Wallon', in Leiden University, pp. 111-13.

³⁶ Album Studiosorum, pp. 57-97.

university, and so tried to select professors who would be acceptable to all sides.³⁷ In 1612, 230 students matriculated in Leiden, followed by 214 in 1614, 264 in 1616, and 233 in 1618. The annual number of matriculations was well above 200 students.³⁸ After the synod of Dordrecht, however, the triumph of the Counter-Remonstrants meant both the dismissal of all Remonstrant professors in theology and a corresponding hardening of the theological outlook of Leiden university. H. Wansink suggested that it was only after Dordrecht that the faculty of theology of Leiden really came into its own, and became a centre of reference for Calvinist churches across Europe.³⁹ J. J. Woltjer offered another perspective, pointing out that the curators and burgomasters' insistence on harmonious relations in the university remained strong, and that the removal of Remonstrant professors in other fields in Leiden was purposely kept to a minimum.⁴⁰ By 1620, Leiden university was flourishing. Its professors included 4 theologians, 3 professors of medicine, 4 of law, and 9 in arts, for a total of 20, and its student matriculations in that year reached 336.⁴¹

While the university of Leiden was expanding, it was also extending its contacts with other centres of higher education, either through an exchange of personnel as in the cases of Pithopoeus and Doneau coming from Heidelberg, and Daneau from Geneva, or through the adaptation of practices adopted elsewhere, as in the use of the *Collegium Sapientiae* as a model for the States College in Leiden. Exchanges also took place among the students, as those from Leiden and from the Northern Netherlands more generally went south, while some Genevans, Swiss and southern Germans made their way to Leiden. Given that the other centres of higher education all had a longer history than Leiden's university did, any comparisons must take the number of years of operation into account. Of the 43 students from Switzerland and Geneva who are known to have matriculated in Leiden between 1575 and 1620, only 4 were from Zurich, whereas 20, nearly half, were Genevans. Given the Zurich authorities' interest in sponsoring their own students to study elsewhere, and Geneva's relative lack of enterprise in that domain, one might expect the opposite. Nevertheless, the Zurich authorities might have been wary of sending their students to such a distant university, where the training available for non-Dutch, non-Walloon students remained something of an unknown quantity. Among the Genevans, 3 studied medicine, 4 studied literature, and the remainder pursued

³⁷ Kuiper and Rademaker, 'The Collegium Theologicum of Leiden', 125-6.

³⁸ *Album Studiosorum*, pp. 104-38.

³⁹ Wansink, *Polietieke Wetenschappen*, p. 32.

⁴⁰ Woltjer, 'Introduction', in *Leiden University*, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Album Studiosorum*, pp. 145-51.

theological studies. It is also a reflection of Leiden's slow beginnings that the first student from Geneva matriculated only in 1587, more than 10 years after Leiden's official inauguration, and that significant numbers of Genevans only appeared in 1602, once the university had been functioning for 25 years. It does not seem that any Genevan students were tempted to accompany Lambert Daneau to Leiden in 1581, and the shortness of his stay in Leiden would not have encouraged anyone to follow him. Clearly, Leiden attracted only a tiny proportion of Swiss and Genevans, whereas the schola publica in Geneva attracted comparatively large numbers of Dutch students, totalling 257 students from the Netherlands during the first sixty years of its operation. 83 of these students' later careers are unknown, leaving 174 students, out of which 80, or nearly half, later became ministers. Consequently, one can suggest that the Genevan schola publica provided the Dutch with an important training centre for ministers. Although it was geographically distant from the Low Countries, it remained popular, perhaps for the very reason that Leiden university, apart from its colleges, was not successful as a centre of ministerial training, namely that the Genevan church exercised direct oversight of the students, and provided them with opportunities for experience in practical training.

As Leiden University's reputation increased along with the number of those matriculating there, it is worth considering how far it is true to claim that Leiden university was a Calvinist centre of higher education. The preceding pages have shown how much tension there was, both within the university and outside it, between the proponents of greater clerical control over university affairs, particularly in theology, and the magistrates who oversaw the university's functioning. It seems more exact to describe Leiden university as a centre of learning in which tendencies towards a greater influence of the Calvinist church and its ministers gradually manifested themselves, but where a prior, and strong tradition of urban lay leadership in all fields resisted and rejected the attempts of the Calvinist church to gain influence in university affairs. From the beginning in 1575, the statutes made no provision for the involvement of the church, and the burgomasters and curators of Leiden university were intent on making sure that the situation remained so. Consequently, the one facet of theological education which most reflected the confessional outlook in Geneva and Zurich, namely training for the ministry, became restricted in Leiden to the theological colleges, operating within the orbit of the university, but distinct from it. The Walloon college in particular provided a way for the church to adopt a more active role in the training of candidates who would ultimately serve, it was hoped, as Walloon ministers. Apart from the colleges, Leiden university did not attempt to bring together the academic and practical training sought after by future ministers.

Insofar as Leiden's growing reputation made it attractive to students, Leiden university did compete with Geneva. Yet apart from the early struggling years of Leiden between 1575 and 1585, there could be no real comparison between the drawing power of both places. Geneva may have lost students to Leiden, students who preferred to go north rather than south, but the difference in terms of the education provided by Leiden and by Geneva was so great as to make straightforward comparisons nearly valueless. By the first decades of the 17th century, the reputation of Geneva's schola publica's rested largely on its past fame, and on its association with Calvin and Beza. Leiden, meanwhile, was flourishing, particularly in the areas where teaching in Geneva was weakest or non-existent, namely in the sciences and in medicine.

By focusing on education, rather than on training, Leiden was less distracted by the problems inherent in pursuing more than one approach simultaneously. At the same time, Leiden was able to fit in all the more rapidly in the world of universities because the curators and burgomasters, the States of Holland, and the Prince of Orange all had similar objectives, namely to attract the most eminent professors to their new institution, leaving aside credal considerations for the most part. It is this uniformity of purpose which led to the university of Leiden's eventual success, combined with a period of growing prosperity contrasting with continued or increasing conflicts in France and Germany.

Geneva as a centre of Calvinist Higher Education, 1559-1620

In 1597, Jacob Anjorant, a leading Genevan magistrate, was sent on a fund-raising mission to the United Provinces. His reports back to the Small Council, laying out the response to his appeals as he passed through the Netherlands, also offer an interesting insight into the Dutch perspective on Geneva's place in Europe at the end of the sixteenth century, and on the reputation of its principal institutions. He stated,

'Geneva still has a strong reputation, and the Dutch have noted that its reputation comes from the fact that through God's grace, for the last sixty-two years, pure religion has been preached there, without any sect or heresy appearing in the Academy. The Academy has flourished thanks to the reputation and worth of the outstanding people whose fame was and is known throughout the world, be it in theology, law, or in Hebrew, Greek and arts. Therefore, those who have had the opportunity to study under such professors are considered to be very learned. However, this would be of very little value if good discipline did not flourish as well. Geneva's reputation in this field is not small, because of the order and discipline that prevails there. As such, the young men who have spent time in Geneva are well thought of, as being well-trained, and because of this, they are placed more quickly in parishes. Therefore, it is Geneva's good discipline which leads fathers and guardians to send their children there, as many in the Low Countries have had to remove their children from France, Germany and England to send them there, confident in the high opinion which they have of Geneva'.¹

Anjorant's assessment of the Dutch view of the Genevan schola publica noted their confidence in both the continuing intellectual renown of Geneva and in its reputation as a centre where good discipline reigned. These two aspects, intellectual training and moral discipline, are two of the facets which contributed to the Genevan schola publica's fame between 1559 and 1620 as a centre of Calvinist higher education. Together, they are what gave the schola publica its unique place in an educational world of increasing institutional diversity.

Until 1566, the schola publica only had chairs in Hebrew, Greek, theology and arts, leading several commentators to compare its curriculum to that of a seminary. Indeed, like a seminary and in the same way as other academies of the period, such as Herborn, Lausanne, and Zurich, the Genevan schola publica was

¹ Théophile Heyer, 'Lettres-patentes des Provinces-Unies des Pays Bas en faveur des Docteurs et autres gradués de l'Académie de Genève (1593-1599)', in Mémoires et Documents publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève XI, 161-92.

unable to provide its students with degrees, for want of a papal or imperial charter. Without degrees, the training provided in Geneva was only recognised as valid and as being of a certain standard by those who had a vested interest in Genevan higher education, namely the Genevans themselves and Calvinists elsewhere, particularly in the French churches. In their eyes, the validity of Genevan training was not measured in its ability to provide degrees vouching for the student's competence, but in Genevan orthodoxy, stemming directly from Calvin and his successor Theodore Beza. In a sense, to the Calvinist churches seeking orthodox and capable ministers, degrees did not matter. It was enough to have spent a number of years, or even only months in the Genevan schola publica, being taught scriptural exegesis by Calvin and Beza and taking in the Genevan model of worship and discipline.

However, though the training of ministers for France and elsewhere continued to take place in Geneva until 1620, the death of Calvin in 1564 and the growing influx of talented refugees, especially after the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, altered the schola publica's approach. Beza, Calvin's successor at the head of the Genevan church and academy, favoured the expansion of the schola publica into new fields more than Calvin had done. At the same time, Geneva's magistrates, who held the purse-strings, paying the salaries of both ministers and professors, were well aware of the importance of attracting wealthy students to Geneva. There was little money to be had from the students for the ministry, since there were no matriculation fees until 1584, and since many of these students were on scholarships, leaving little financial room for them to afford extras. The magistrates were equally aware that in order to attract the wealthier students courses had to be offered in subjects other than theology, ancient languages, or arts, namely in law and, briefly, in medicine.

The Genevan authorities were successful in setting up the law courses, attracting famous professors, particularly after the St Bartholomew's Day massacre, such as François Hotman, Hugues Doneau, and Ennemond de Bonnefoy. The law lectures brought in an increasing number of noble students, who spent time and money in Geneva along with their entourage, and the magistrates did all they could to encourage such students to come.

Yet the magisterial enthusiasm for subjects outside theology and their efforts to have the schola publica follow the model of universities were not viewed with favour by all. A large section of the Company of Pastors remained antagonistic to the expansion of the schola publica to include law, as the ministers remained convinced of the centrality of theology in the schola publica. Consequently, the gap widened between the magistrates' and ministers' expectations as to the role of the schola publica as the 16th century drew to a close. While the magistrates sought to

widen the schola publica's appeal and to bring it in line with university practices elsewhere, most of the Genevan ministers fought a rear-guard battle to preserve the status quo. In a sense, the schola publica provided the ministers and magistrates with their only battle arena within the city. Other civic matters such as the care of the sick in the hospital was organised by the Small Council, with little involvement of the Company of Pastors beyond the nomination of a minister to work as a chaplain and to teach any orphan children in the hospital itself. Poor relief was organised by the Company of Pastors through the deacons, whose funds came from offerings in church and from regular and extraordinary collections among the residents of Geneva. The Small Council played only a minimal role in this domain. However, the schola publica was run jointly by the ministers and the magistrates. The Company of Pastors nominated candidates for vacant professorships, dealt with most straight-forward disciplinary matters among the students and staff, and ran the operation of the schola publica on a day-to-day basis. Thanks to Calvin's strong influence, the ministers also played a vital role as mentors and supervisors of the numerous theology students intending to enter the pastorate. At the same time, the Small Council played a crucial role, both financially by paying the professors' salaries, and in graver matters of discipline, as has been shown. The financial control exercised by the magistrates gave them the ability to override suggestions for professorial candidates made by the ministers, or to suggest other candidates instead.

The conflict between ministers and magistrates was exacerbated by Geneva's difficult political and financial situation. Geneva's former overlords, the Dukes of Savoy, wanted to regain possession of the city, which they considered their own. The successive Dukes of Savoy engaged in warfare, blockades, and attempted invasions to regain control of Geneva, culminating in the abortive Escalade in December 1602, when the troops of Savoy attempted to scale the walls of the city by night. Geneva, partly assisted by its Swiss allies, managed to repel the various attacks, but the financial cost was high.

The provision of higher education within the Academy of Geneva was highly dependent on the financial situation of the city. If there was enough money to pay the professors' salaries, then the schola publica flourished and was allowed to develop and expand, but if funds were lacking, the salaries of the professors were the first non-essential item to be cut. In other words, though the ministers and magistrates stated in public how important the schola publica was both for Geneva's reputation and for its survival, the pragmatism of the magistrates did not allow theory to stand in the way of practice. When cost-cutting measures were needed, the schola publica was one of the first bodies to feel the pinch.

The ease with which salaries could be increased, decreased, or stopped by the magistrates in times of crisis illustrates one of the schola publica's greatest handicaps. As an academy, it had very little independent existence from the Genevan authorities. Unlike universities such as Heidelberg, where the university senate largely ran the university affairs and could block, simply by inertia, proposals for change put forward by the Electors Palatine, the schola publica was controlled jointly by the ministers and magistrates of Geneva. Its professors were selected and examined by the Company of Pastors before being approved by the Small Council, and its rector was usually one of the city ministers. The professors did not form an independent body of decision-makers. Instead, they were integrated into the Company of Pastors even though some, such as the successive professors of arts, were laymen. For their part, the professors of law were not admitted to the Company of Pastors, but instead were forced to sit on the sidelines. The Company of Pastors' refusal to admit the professors of law into their midst indicates again how little the ministers favoured the teaching of law. In fact, the schola publica's lack of independence reflects the growing control over all urban institutions by the civic leaders. The city hospital, as well as city and rural ministers were paid for by the municipal authorities, who expected in return the right of oversight of their operations. Education was no exception. It was only in cases such as the university of Heidelberg, where the institution had a long history of a certain measure of independence from lay and ecclesiastical control that its freedoms could be preserved. In Leiden, though the university was free from the control of the Calvinist church, the magistrates played an important role in university affairs. Its status as a university did give Leiden some freedom as well, since it held university privileges, such as exemptions from tax on certain commodities. In Geneva, where the schola publica was founded after the city gained its independence from its bishop, and had no previous history of independence to turn to, it was inevitable that the schola publica would have little control over its own affairs.

On the one hand, the schola publica's reliance on civil and ecclesiastical authorities had its advantages for these authorities in that they could direct its development without fear of hindrance from those most directly concerned, namely the professors and students. On the other hand, the schola publica's dependence on outside forces also made it into a hybrid institution aiming to satisfy both the requirements of the Company of Pastors to be a training centre for future ministers, and the magistrates' interest in its expansion along university lines. Combined with the chronic lack of funds and competition from other centres of learning, the pressures on the schola publica led to its slow decline after Beza's death in 1605 and through until 1620. Being neither one thing nor the other and yet striving to be both

at once stymied the schola publica's chances of development. It risked sinking into a backwater very quickly if it focused on ministerial training alone, particularly when Calvin and Beza were succeeded by less internationally known professors, and as other training centres, especially in France and the United Provinces, were set up to prepare future ministers more locally. However, the magistrates' plans to increase the schola publica's appeal to other, wealthier sectors of the student population were hampered by the lack of degrees and by competition from universities, which had greater resources to attract professors of higher calibre, or even to entice away those professors which the schola publica did have.

In order to remedy some of these problems, the magistrates asked Henry IV of France and the United Provinces whether they would agree to recognise putative Genevan degrees as equivalent to those issued by universities in their areas. In the end, though the Dutch were willing to support the magistrates' project, Henry IV's lack of enthusiasm (he seems to have feared Geneva would take students away from French universities) dissuaded the Genevan civil authorities from going any further. Apart from their need for Henry IV's approval, the magistrates were also likely to be aware of the potential problems which attended university status. Heidelberg and Leiden university offered privileges to their members, such as exemptions from certain taxes and freedom from certain obligations of the citizenry, such as guard duty. Heidelberg university had its own courts, which could deal with discipline matters internally, without bringing the civil authorities into play. It is hardly surprising, given the Genevan magistrates' keen interest in direct oversight of the Genevan institutions, that the transformation of Geneva's schola publica into a university was not pursued much further, probably because of the threat which the independence of a potential university posed to the Genevan civic authorities.

The magistrates' efforts to secure recognition for Genevan degrees, even though they were not energetically pursued, prompt consideration of what should be one of the central issues in Reformed higher education in the period, namely whether degrees were a necessary certification of a training successfully accomplished. This question was perhaps most acute with regard to training in theology. As has been stated earlier, a great deal of the schola publica's appeal to those sending students lay in Geneva's aura as the centre of Calvinism. By the same token, the churches' expectations regarding their students' education focused much more on practical matters than on academic ones. In their letters to the Company of Pastors, congregations looking for a minister tended to emphasise practical skills, such as an ability to preach and to administer church discipline, rather than degrees or equivalent qualifications. It was not that these churches felt the learning of their future ministers was useless, but, as the congregations themselves were oriented

towards attracting and retaining converts, practical abilities were the prime qualities sought after in their ministers. And yet the churches spent considerable amounts of their small resources to finance students' stay in Geneva. Other strategies were available. They could have established a quasi-apprenticeship scheme, following the early Dutch Calvinist practice, in which candidates with a call to ministry could acquire any practical training necessary while serving under a more experienced minister.² But instead, future ministers were sponsored for a period of study in the schola publica. Clearly, some form of higher education was deemed necessary, even if its success was not measured by academic examinations or degrees. In a sense, the schola publica provided a half-way point, between completely practical training for future pastors, and years of higher study culminating in the granting of degrees.

The churches' insistence on practical abilities and leadership qualities in their ministers meant that academic training came second in their letters behind practical preparation for ministry. To a certain extent, Geneva could provide opportunities for practice in preaching in its rural pulpits, and the students could acquire a working knowledge of church discipline by observing the administration of discipline in Geneva. The schola publica's task was made more difficult, however, as the French church in particular became more organised, dividing into colloquies, provincial synods, and national synods, and requiring any practical preparation of ministers to take place under its guidance alone. The official bodies of the French church showed greater concern for their candidates' academic performance, measuring each candidate's ability through a series of examinations on Scripture, on Hebrew and Greek, and on Reformed doctrine. This tightening of procedures was a result of the earlier haphazard approach to calling ministers, which had led to problems of discipline and unorthodox preaching among the Reformed clergy.³

The French church's examination and assessment structures created problems for the Genevan schola publica, which was caught between individual congregations asking for any available pastor, and the national French church, ordering that all requests be channelled through the church's representative bodies, and that Geneva observe the French regulations forbidding candidates to preach unless they had been ordained first.⁴ Simultaneously, the schola publica was being asked to turn out

² Andrew Pettegree, 'The clergy and the Reformation: from "devilish priesthood" to new professional elite', in The Reformation of the Parishes: The ministry and the Reformation in town and country ed. by Andrew Pettegree (Manchester, 1993), pp. 10-12.

³ Discipline de l'église réformée, pp. 214-15. These articles reject the use of ministers known as coureurs, who went from church to church, 'having no vocation, and pushing their way into the ministry'.

⁴ Discipline de l'église réformée, pp. 192-3.

capable preachers, without being allowed to give candidates the chance to practice. Once again, the conflicting pressures put on the Company of Pastors and on the schola publica, and the lack of agreed-upon standards of academic and practical training for the ministry blocked the schola publica's development, since one institution alone could not meet these various demands.

And yet, particularly in the 1560s and 1570s, the schola publica was called upon from all sides to provide training for an entire generation of young men, largely because of the lack of education at a comparative level available elsewhere. The leading French Huguenot academies were set up only in the early 1600s, well after the first major rush for ministers to lead the expanding French congregations. In 1559, the Genevan schola publica was the only real option for those wanting to study in a French language Calvinist setting, since Geneva's main competitor, the Academy of Lausanne, was in decline following the departure of the majority of its professors for Geneva. In the Netherlands, Geneva also acted as a beacon for young men seeking training until the end of the 16th century. Though the university of Leiden was founded in 1575, it failed to attract many students in its first years, particularly in theology, because of continuing problems in finding suitable professors. A small, but constant stream of students also came to Geneva from Zurich, which had its own academy. The young men of Zurich, as we have seen, were not so much interested in the prospect of the schola publica's intellectual offerings, as in the opportunity to learn French. The diversity of roles expected of Genevan higher education by those who sent their students to the city contributed to the Genevan authorities' difficulties in coming to any agreement about the schola publica's basic aims.

As new institutions were founded, and older ones adapted to meet the changing needs of the Reformation period, pressure increased on the Genevan schola publica. The German universities, and particularly the university of Heidelberg, flourished, attracting top scholars in nearly every field, thanks to the support of territorial princes, for whom a successful university was one of the indicators of their entire territory's prosperity. In Heidelberg, the Calvinist Electors Friedrich III, his son Johann Casimir, and their successors Friedrich IV and Friedrich V, pushed the university towards Calvinism by selecting Calvinist professors, especially in theology, and by altering the academic oaths sworn by professors and students to have the oath-takers promise to uphold the Calvinist church order. Competing directly with Geneva, the Calvinist Electors also founded and developed residential colleges, attached to the university, where scholarship students would receive room and board free or at a token cost, and would be prepared for the ministry through a combination of academic learning and practice in oral debates and preaching. The

Heidelberg colleges were then adopted as models at the university of Leiden, with the foundation of the States-College, for Dutch theology students in 1592, and the Walloon College in 1606. The establishment of these colleges threatened Geneva's intake of students for the ministry, for they provided low-cost training closer to the students' homes, and, crucially, under the direct supervision of local magisterial and ecclesiastical authorities. Indeed, the growing independence of the churches fostered by Geneva led to a corresponding interest in having students study in supervised local settings.

Yet in spite of the increasing options of local universities, academies and colleges, students continued to come to Geneva, seemingly unconcerned about the growing gaps in professorial ranks or about the number of professors teaching more than one subject. Part of Geneva's continuing appeal, at least for wealthy and noble students, may have been a combination of its geographic centrality as a well-situated stop between German centres of learning and French and Italian ones, and its adoption as one of the places to visit during a student's grand tour. In several instances, Geneva's confessional stance appears to have had little to do with such students' decision to matriculate in the schola publica. In January 1615, for instance, the ministers protested about a planned procession and banquet organised by German students to celebrate the Feast of the Three Kings in Geneva. The Company of Pastors pointed out that several of these German students were Lutherans, and that one was Catholic, and that the same students had caricatured the most recent Lord's Supper in Geneva by handing each other bread and saying, 'here, have some of Calvin's bread'.⁵ Clearly, these students had no personal interest in Geneva as a centre of Calvinism, and instead saw the schola publica as merely another stop in their tour of centres of learning. On the other hand, well into the 17th century, the Genevan schola publica still carried a special meaning for Calvinist churches and individuals. For example, in the same year as the noble students attempted to celebrate the Feast of the Three Kings, the members of the colloquy of Aulnis wrote to the Company of Pastors to recommend a student for the ministry, Pierre Joutin. They stated, 'He will be maintained by our colloquy, and we suggested to him to go to your Academy, as it is the best place we know of to be healthily and solidly taught about the mysteries of divine knowledge, and to be trained for the explanation of God's Word, and to be directed always, either by good teachings or by pious examples, towards holiness of life'.⁶ Even as late as 1615, Geneva's reputation was

⁵ RC 114, fol. 7, 5 January 1615.

⁶ BPU, Ms Fr 422, fol. 57. The Colloquy of Aulnis (Vertueil) to the Company of Pastors, 21 May 1615.

primarily as a place in which students could acquire not only intellectual, but also the moral training necessary for their later career.

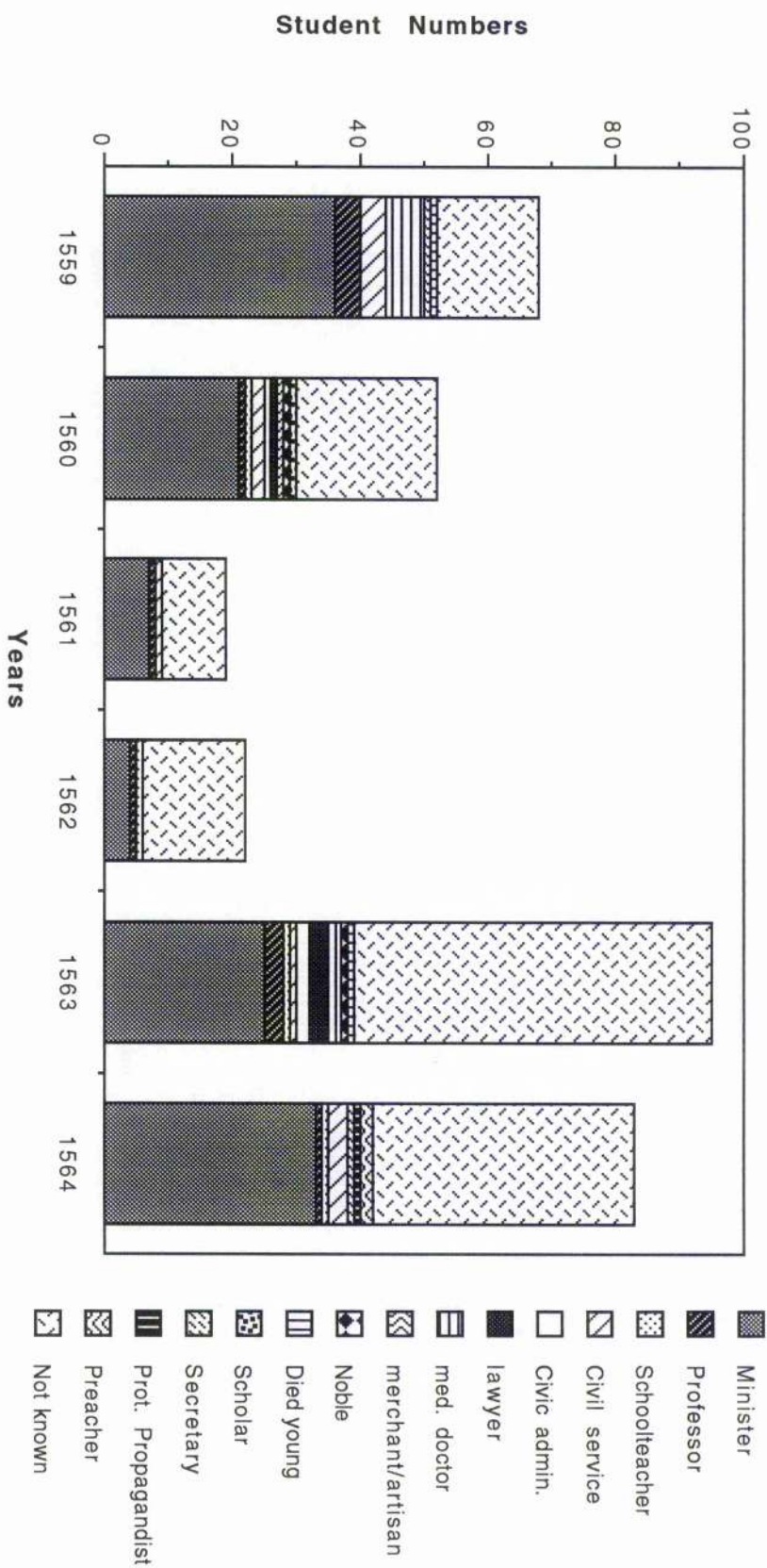
This letter, and the report of Jacob Anjorant cited at the beginning of this chapter provide a useful measure of the considerable success achieved by the Academy's founding fathers in establishing a significant centre of Calvinist higher education. Of course its confessional allegiance was not meant to be its sole drawing point. Geneva's magistrates felt that the attractions of Calvinist training for the ministry would not allow the schola publica to flourish over the long term. Yet their ambitious plans to expand into other fields and draw Geneva into the universities' orbit were hampered by practical considerations such as intermittent warfare and a lack of funds, and, more seriously, by a lack of agreement among magisterial and ministerial authorities regarding the schola publica's prime purpose, making any transformations slow and hesitant. Although the magistrates did gain greater control over educational affairs after the Reformation, there were still too many groups with a vested interest in the aims of the schola publica. By and large, the ministers were content with the seminary role of the schola publica and preferred any available resources to be spent on the maintenance of theological teaching and its attendant subjects.

The Genevan schola publica was much more than a glorified Latin school, and yet it could not compete with established universities. Created to provide a training centre at the time when there was a great need for ministers with relatively uniform training, the schola publica then expanded into other domains, increasing its fame as a centre of learning for a time, but living beyond its financial means in terms of the salary costs needed to pay the professors who held the key to Geneva's scholarly reputation. The generations of staunchly Calvinist, expensive, and yet internationally-known professors, such as François Hotman in law, Lambert Daneau in theology, and Isaac Casaubon in Greek was succeeded, by the turn of the century, by a majority of less-expensive Genevan-born professors. And yet in spite of the difficulties which the schola publica faced, its role in training and education in the period was vital, for it provided an innovative option for those seeking higher education in the later Reformation period.

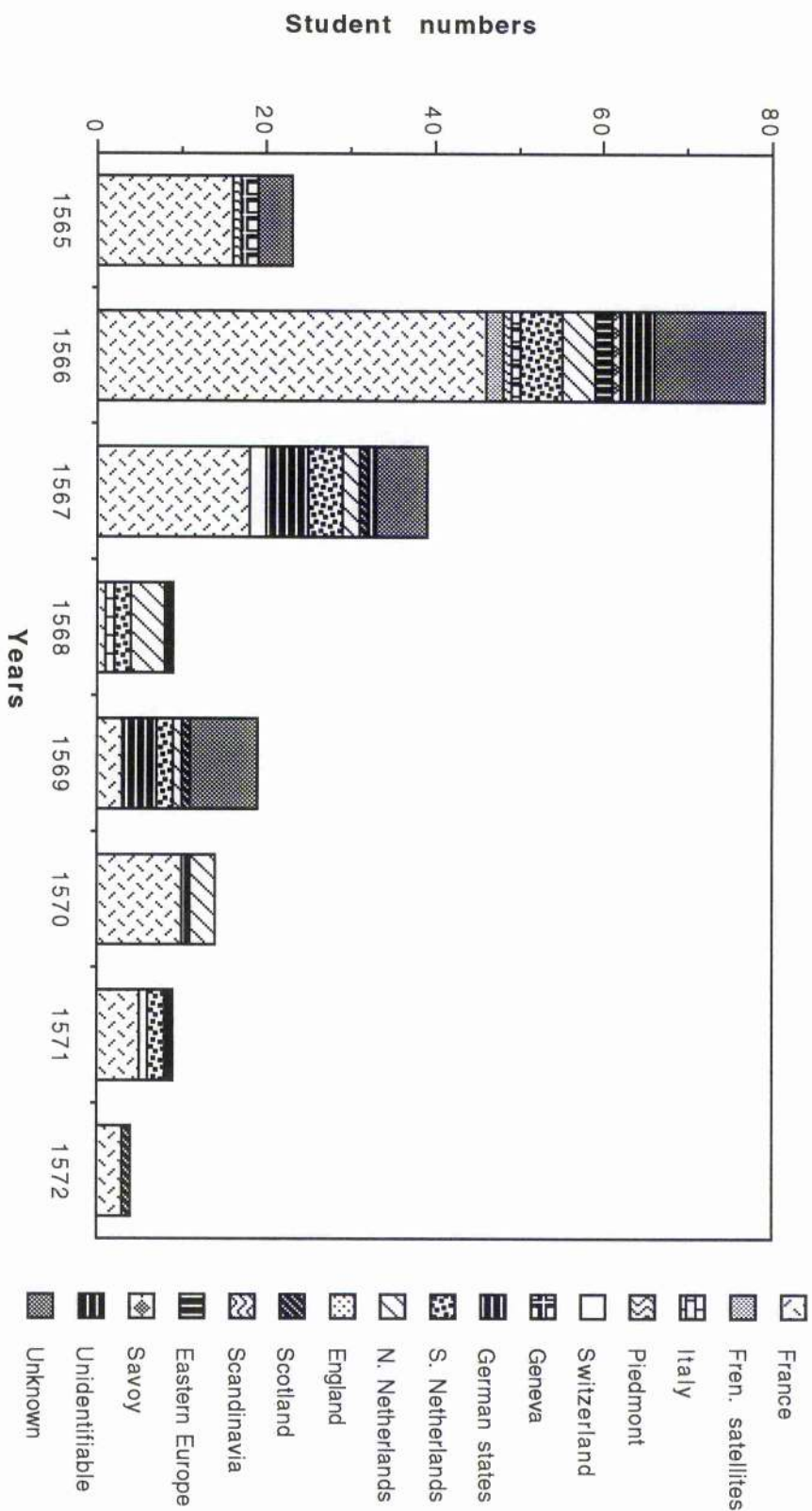
1559-1564



1559-1564



Graph 3: Students' place of origin
1565-1572



1565-1572



1573-1586



1579-1586



1573-1586



1587-1599



1587-1599



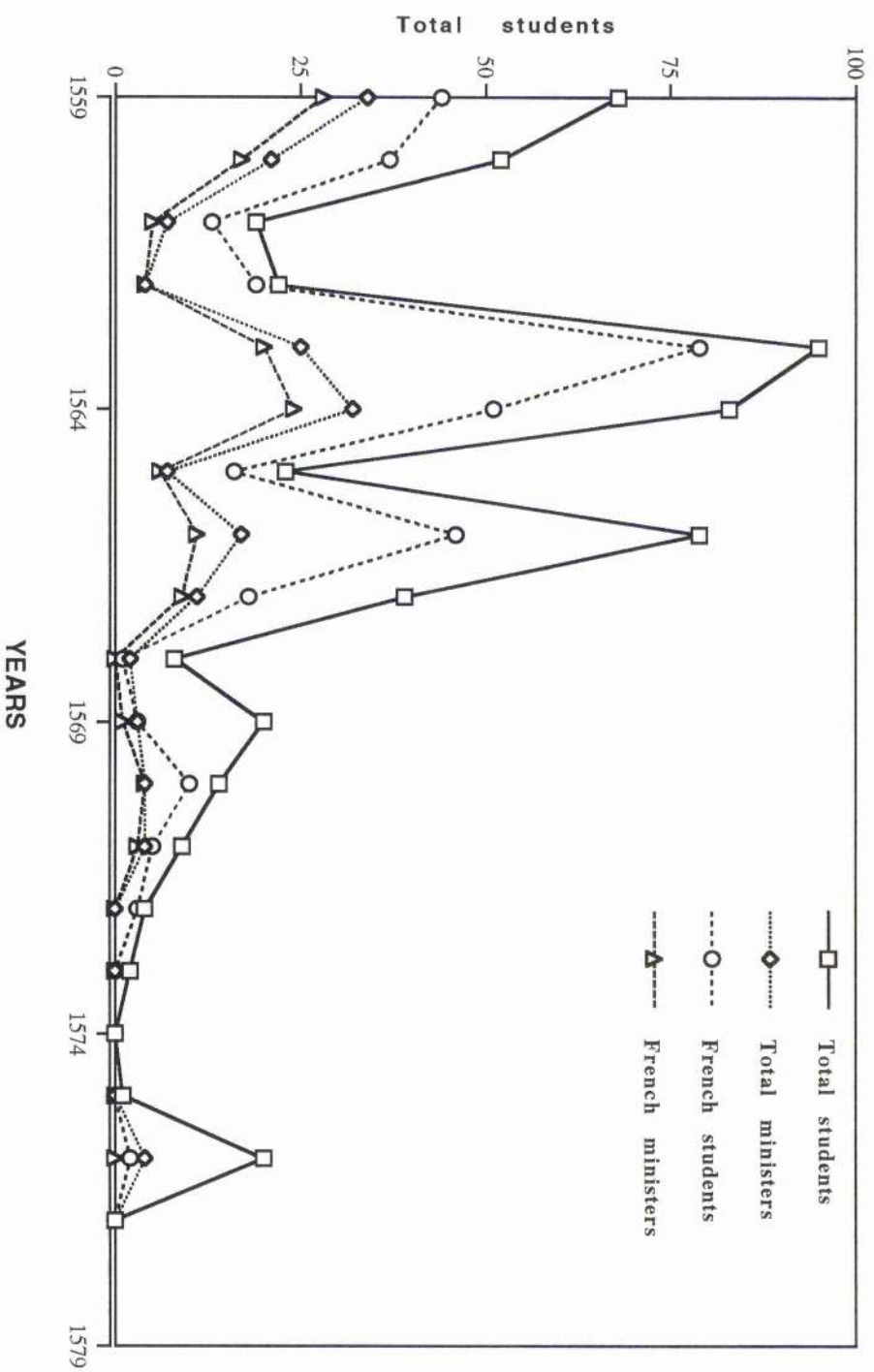
1600-1620



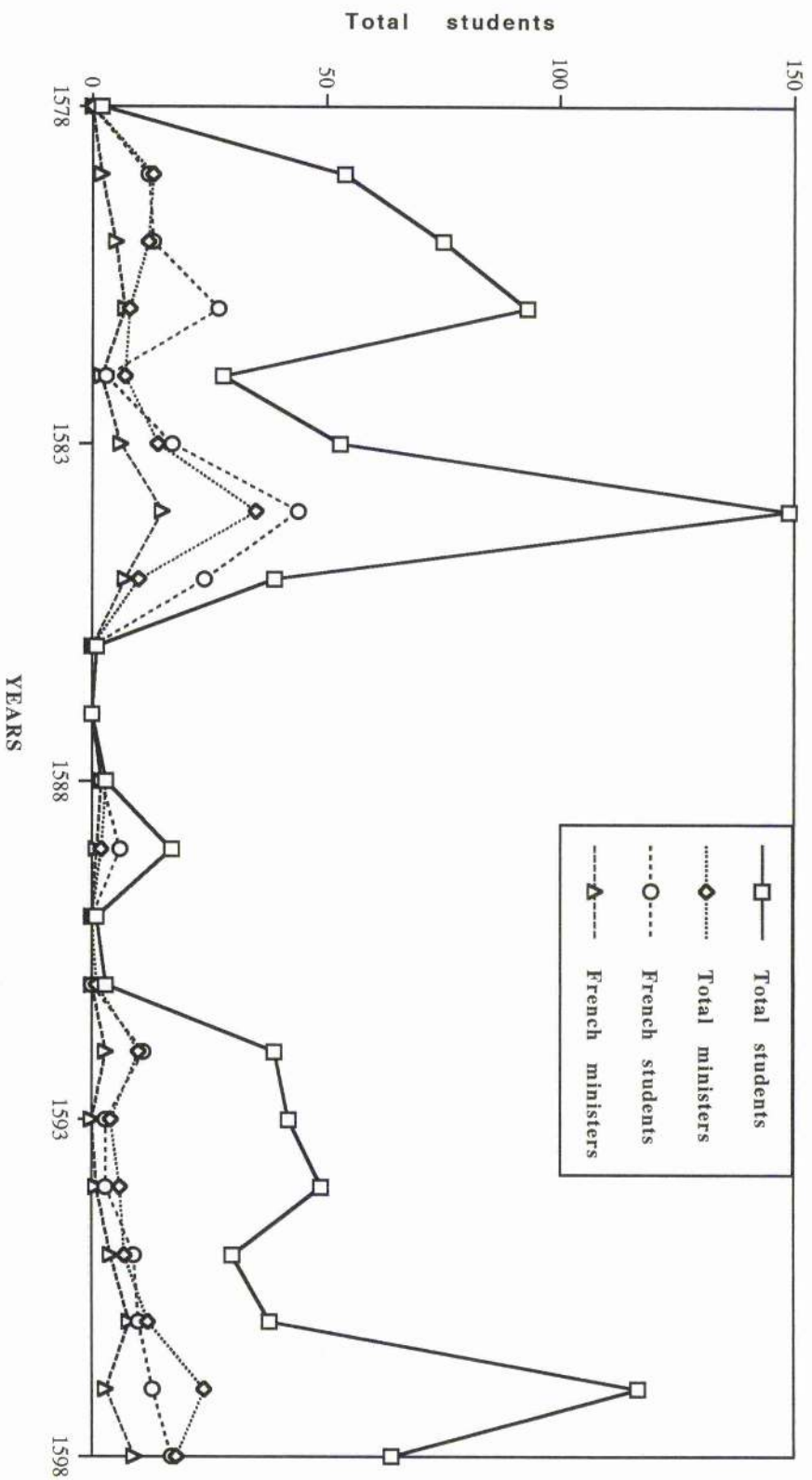
1600-1620



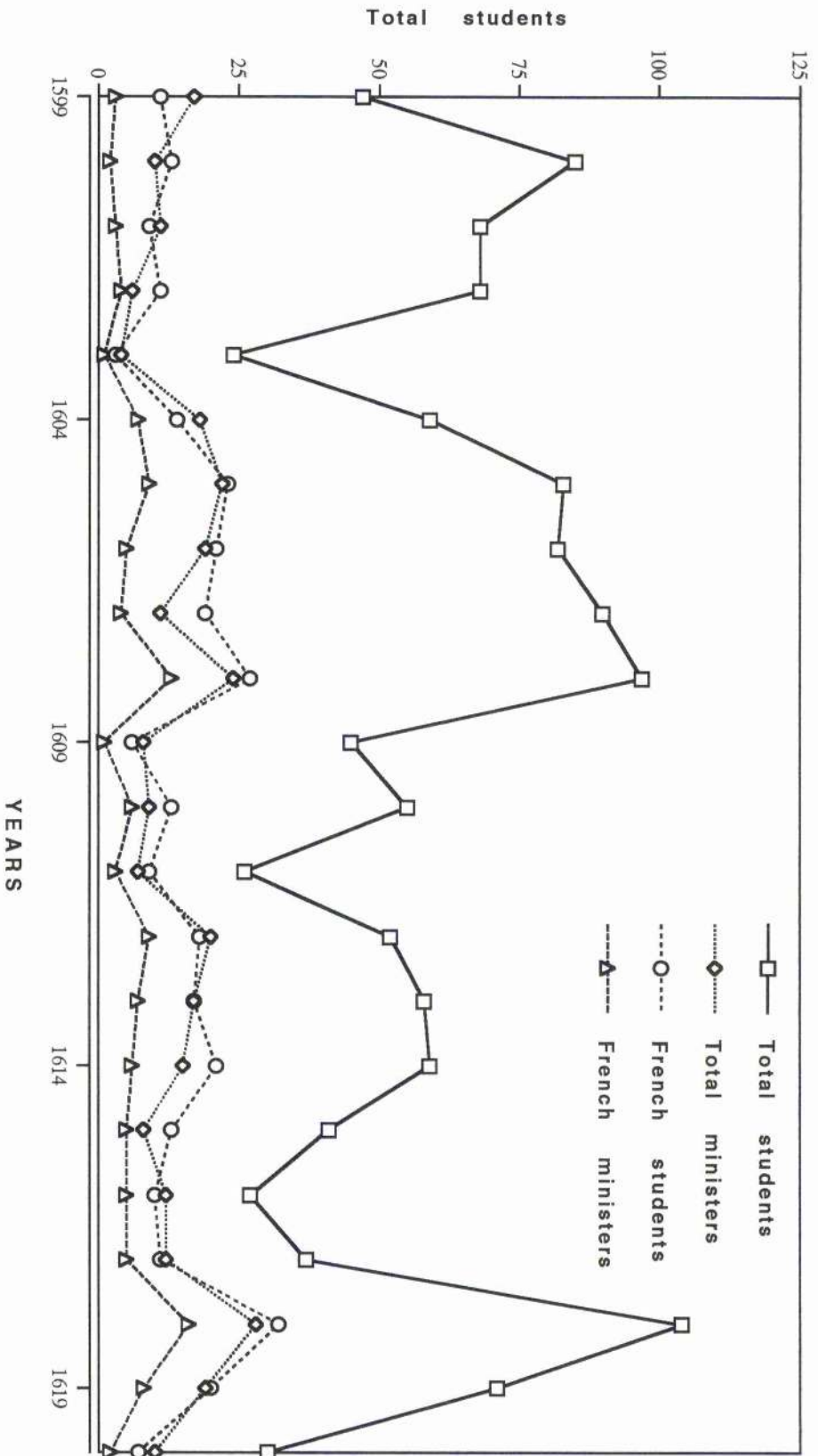
Graph 12: French students in Geneva, 1559-1579



Graph 13: French students in Geneva, 1578-1598



Graph 14: French Students in Geneva, 1599-1620



Geneva as a Centre of Calvinist Higher Education, 1559-1620

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